THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND;

OR, A

COMPLEAT HISTORY,

CIVIL, MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS AND SAXONS,

FROM THE

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

WITH A

COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, HABITS, &c. OF THOSE PEOPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH STRUTT.

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COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND:

OR

CHRONICLE

THE

PREFACE.

THE reader has already been informed, in the preface to the former volume of this work, that the intention of it was (by way of ſupplement) to give information concerning thoſe times wherein the preceding hiſtories of Great Britain have been defective, and for this reaſon it ends with the acceſſion of William the Conqueror to the Crown; and the author hopes, that the hiſtory of our Britiſh and Saxon anceſtors, which have been ſo much neglected by former writers, will here be found ſet forth in as clear a light as the imperfect materials for ſuch a work would permit.

In the courſe of the work, no leſs than forty-two copper plates are given, which explain and illuſtrate the hiſtory of the manners and cuſtoms of the Britons, and the Saxons, which part in particular of this work no pains has been ſpared to make as compleat as poſſible; and the author preſumes, the many curious and authentic particulars relative to the dreſs and particular cuſtoms of thoſe our early anceſtors, contained in theſe volumes, cannot fail of being pleaſing, as well as highly intereſting, to an Engliſh reader. And in this volume is added an account of the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and a compleat

pleat ſeries of their coins, from Egbert to Harold the Second incluſive.

The author now takes his farewell of the public, to whoſe candour he ſubmits his work, deſiring they will kindly overlook the errors they may find in it; and hopes the peruſal of it may afford them at leaſt ſome amuſement.

Duke Street, Portland Chapel,
April 20, 1778.

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CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

From the Acceſſion of EGBERT *to the Arrival of* WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR.

Introduction to the hiſt. of Egbert.

WE left the hiſtory of Weſſex unfiniſhed in the former volume, in order to purſue, in a regular channel, the accounts of the other kingdoms which compoſed the Heptarchy. The kingdom of Weſſex being left deſtitute of an heir by the death of Beorhtric, the nobles unanimouſly agreed to ſend meſſengers to France, to invite Egbert (a young nobleman *, who had quitted Weſſex, his native country, and retired into exile) to return and take poſſeſſion of the crown. This ſummons was exceedingly agreeable to Egbert, who had left Britain only on account of the jealous diſpoſition of Beorhtric, which made his ſtay there unſafe. He had taken refuge in France under Charles the Great, where he acquired that knowledge in civil and military government, which laid the foundation of his future glory. Egbert, complying with the requeſt of the Weſt Saxons, came over into Britain with all poſſible expedition, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and crowned king by univerſal conſent. A. D. 804.

* Egbert, according to the ancient chronicles, was of the blood royal of Weſſex, deſcended from Cenred, the father of Ina, king of Weſſex, as Florentius the monk of Worceſter derives his pedigree. Cenred had two ſons, Ina and Ingils, whoſe ſon was Eoppa, whoſe ſon was Eafa, whoſe ſon was Alkmund the father of Egbert.

EGBRYHT, or EGBERT,

The ſeventeenth KING *of* WESSEX, *and firſt ſole* MONARCH *of the* HEPTARCHY*.

A. D. 804. Egbert ſubdues the Britons in Cornwall.

ÆGBERT was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of Weſſex, than he endeavoured to ſecure the hearts of his people, by his prudent government, and ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice. Thoroughly ſenſible of the miſerable effects of indolence in a nation, he trained his ſubjects to arms, and reſtored proper diſcipline among them. His firſt wars were againſt the Britons inhabiting Cornwall and Devon, which commenced ſoon after he aſcended the throne, and continued ſome time with various ſucceſs, though Egbert generally proved victorious. At length, in a campaign, made about the year 809, he proved ſo ſucceſsful as to reduce all Cornwall to an entire ſubjection †.

A. D. 818. Another expedition againſt the Corniſh Britons.

In the fourteenth year of his reign, he took the field againſt the Weſtern Britons, with a powerful army over-ran their country, and ſubdued them from the moſt eaſtern to the moſt weſtern parts of their poſſeſſions; ſo that, for a conſiderable time, they quietly ſubmitted to the will of the conqueror ‡.

A. D. 823. The Britons again overcome.

However, about the year 823, they began to be weary of their yoke, and endeavoured to ſhake it off. They began by commencing hoſtilities in the Weſt; but the Weſt Saxons, who inhabited the borders of Devonſhire, collected a conſiderable body of troops, and marched againſt them. Both armies met at a place called Gafulford §, when a bloody battle was fought with ſuch equal ſucceſs, that neither could claim the victory. However, the power of the Welſh received ſo conſiderable a ſhock from this battle, that they dared not to take the field again ‖.

The battle of Hendune.

The great ſucceſs of Egbert ſoon excited the jealouſy of the neighbouring princes, eſpecially of Beornwulf, king of Mercia, who, with-

* Hiſtorians in general have agreed in placing the coronation of Egbert under the year of our Lord 800; and, indeed, that year is expreſsly ſet down in the chronicle of Ethelwerd, and alſo in the Saxon chronicle, as well as in ſeveral other ancient authors; but ſome miſtakes muſt be in dates.—The Saxon chronicle places the death of Cuthred, king of Weſſex, A. D. 754, which could not be, for Edbald, king of Mercia, was not ſlain until the year 757, in a battle fought againſt this Cuthred at Sceandune; and we have the authority of ſeveral authors, that Cuthred fought with the Britons after the battle of Sceandune, ſo that he could not have died before the latter end of the year 757, or, which is more probable, the beginning of the year 758. After him Sidgebryth reigned near one year, Cynewulf at leaſt thirty, and Beorhtric full ſixteen; ſo that the death of this laſt prince could not have happened before the year 804, in which very year it is probable Egbert mounted the throne of Weſſex.

† Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

‡ Hen. Hunt. lib. 4.

§ Camulford in Cornwall.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 823.

out

out any apparent provocation, entered the borders of Weſſex with a powerful army, and proceeded as far as Ellendune *, where he was met by Egbert. Here a bloody engagement enſued, when Beornwulf was defeated, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his army †.

The victory obtained by Egbert at Ellendune was not the only pleaſing conſequence he derived from that battle, ſince it opened his way to the conqueſt of the neighbouring kingdoms, of which Mercia was the moſt powerful. Egbert, having properly ſecured the fruits of his conqueſt, ſent his ſon Ethelwulf with a powerful army into Kent, which ſoon ſubmitted to his victorious arms. For Baldred, the king of that province, after the loſs of one battle, fled out of Kent, and left his ſubjects to ſhift for themſelves, who, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their leader, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the conqueror, who paſſed through their territories, and croſſing the Thames, entered Eſſex, which kingdom he alſo preſently ſubdued, and chaſed their king Swithed from his throne and country ‡.

Kent and Eſſex ſubdued.

A. D. 824.

Mercia, already diſtreſſed and weakened by the loſs of that fatal battle at Ellendune, ſoon felt the effects of Egbert's ſucceſs----for the Eaſt Angles, whoſe territory Offa had unjuſtly ſeized upon after the murder of Ethelbryhte, and added to his own dominion, thought the preſent opportunity the moſt favourable for them to break their allegiance with the Mercians, and revenge the injuries they had received. They, therefore, ſent petitions to Egbert, requeſting his aſſiſtance, which they eaſily obtained. Strengthened with this powerful alliance, they commenced hoſtilities againſt the Mercians, invaded their territories, and drove them to the greateſt diſtreſs. Beornwulf vainly fought to oppoſe the torrent which was daily increaſing; his forces gradually grew weaker, and after ſome time fighting in the defence of his falling country, he was ſlain on the field of battle §.

Egbert aids the Eaſt Angles againſt the Mercians.

A. D. 825.

After the death of Beornwulf, the Mercians elected another prince, named Ludican, who, like his predeceſſor, was ſlain the following year fighting againſt the Eaſt Angles; and was ſucceeded by Wiglaf, a prince of the royal blood of Mercia, who took upon him the government, and exerted every ability he poſſeſſed to ſave his country from ruin ‖.

The death of Ludican.

A. D. 827.

Egbert, not contented with the advantages he had already gained, raiſed a powerful army, and marched againſt Wiglaf, the king of Mercia,

Mercia and Northumberland ſubdued.

* Wilton near Saliſbury.
† Malmſb. Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. &c.
‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§ Ibid. Ibid.
‖ Ibid.

cia, whom he defeated, and routed with ſuch great loſs, that he dared not appear again in the field, but withdrew himſelf, not only from the purſuit of the conqueror, but alſo from the knowledge of his own people. This victory was fatal to the Mercians, who were now compelled, by neceſſity, to ſubmit to the arms of Egbert, who marched through Mercia with his army in order to invade Northumberland, which, at this time, was in the utmoſt diſorder, torn with civil diſcords and diviſions amongſt the chief rulers, and afflicted with continual inteſtine oppreſſions. In ſuch a condition, they were unable to reſiſt the powerful arms of Egbert, who was haſting towards them; they therefore ſent ambaſſadors to meet him as ſoon as he was advanced to Dore in Yorkſhire, and ſubmitted to him without trying the fate of a ſingle battle *.

A. D. 828. Egbert, in the beginning of the year 828, returned from Northumberland, and entering Mercia, reſtored Wiglaf to the throne, after he had been reduced to the condition of a private man, if not to that of an exile, having paſſed four months of his abſence in a cell belonging to his couſin Etheldrida at Croyland †.——It is uncertain whether Egbert was induced to act thus through pity for the unfortunate man, or whether it was the better to pleaſe the Mercians with the appearance of a king of their own. Indeed, it was but in appearance, for Wiglaf at beſt was but little more than a viceroy under the conqueror.

Wiglaf reſtored to the throne of Mercia.

Egbert's expedition into North Wales.

The ſame year Egbert marched with a powerful army into North Wales; for their having aſſiſted their ſouthern brethren was a ſufficient plea for directing his arms againſt them. After ſeveral bloody battles, which generally ended in favour of Egbert, the whole kingdom of North Wales was ſubdued; and the Welſh were entirely driven out of their great city of Caer Legion ‡. The Welſh, however, made repeated ſtruggles to regain their liberty; but by the vigilance of Egbert, all their endeavours were prevented, and their attempts only contributed to make their oppreſſions the greater; for Egbert, incenſed at their obſtinate reſiſtance, enacted a ſevere law againſt them, whereby they were forbidden, on pain of death, to paſs the dyke which Offa had formerly made to divide the kingdom of Mercia from the poſſeſſions of the Welſh §.

Egbert takes upon him the ſole monarchy.

Egbert, after all theſe ſucceſsful undertakings, returned to Weſſex, where he applied himſelf to the regulation and prudent government of the conquered kingdoms; and ſome time, about this period, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of the whole Heptarchy, which

* Ibid.
† Ingulphus Hiſt. of Croyland.
‡ Or Caer Leyon, Weſt Cheſter.
§ Some authors ſay this law was owing to the council of Red-burga, the wife of Egbert.

was

was done with great pomp at Winchester; and he then gave the name of England to all his dominions *.

About four years after Egbert's return to Weſſex, the Danes (who had firſt ſhewn themſelves in Britain, about the year 793, during the reign of Beorthric, the predeceſſor of Egbert) landed in the iſland of Shepy, where they miſerably deſtroyed the country, and pillaged the inhabitants; nor were they driven from thence without much difficulty.-----The ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, another party of theſe pirates arrived in thirty-five ſhips, and began to ravage the weſtern parts of the kingdom, againſt whom Egbert haſted with his army, and came up with them at a place called Carrum †, where a bloody and obſtinate battle was fought, which proved very unfavourable to the Engliſh, for two of the chief captains in their army, Dudda and Oſmond, beſides two biſhops, Herefrid of Winchester, and Wigfrid of Sherbourne, together with a prodigious number of common ſoldiers, were left dead on the field; for the Danes proving victorious, preſſed ſo cloſely upon the Engliſh that they were put to flight, Egbert himſelf eſcaping with difficulty under cover of the night ‡. A. D. 832. The Danes land in England, and the battle of Carrum.

Two years afterwards, a ſtrong party of the Danes landed in Weſt Wales, and united their forces with thoſe of the Britons, who gladly embraced this opportunity of revenging themſelves upon the Engliſh. Theſe two armies, therefore, began to pillage and deſtroy the borders of the dominion of Egbert, who, in the mean time, was not idle, but collected a powerful army, and marching forward to meet the invaders, came up with them at a place called Hengeſtdune §, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Danes, and their confederates, were defeated with great ſlaughter. A. D. 835. The Danes join the Britons, and are overcome by Egbert.

Either the firſt or ſecond year after this victory was gained, Egbert appears to have again attacked the Danes, and to have put them to flight with conſiderable loſs, after a very bloody battle; but the place where the two armies met is not recorded ‖. From this time, to the end of this monarch's reign, we do not find that any thing further happened to diſturb his repoſe. A. D. 837. Another battle againſt the Danes.

* He cauſed commiſſion (ſays Hollingſhead) to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to give commandement that, from thence forward, all people inhabiting within this land ſhould be called *Engliſhmen*, and not *Saxons*, and the land ſhould be called England, by one general name ----though (adds he) it ſhould appear that it was called ſo ſhortly after the firſt time that the Angles and Saxons got poſſeſſion thereof. Hol. vol. 1. fol. 204.

† Near the river Carr in Dorſetſhire, Milt. Hiſt. Eng. p. 224.

‡ Simon Dunelm: Hen. Hunt. lib. 4. Mat. Weſt. Chron. Sax. ſub ann. dom. 833, &c.

§ Or Hengiſt's Hill.

‖ Mat. Weſt. ſub. an. 836.

Egbert,

The death of Egbert.

Egbert, after he had reigned ſix and thirty years in greater glory than any of his predeceſſors, bid adieu to this world, and ſought a refuge from all his troubles in another.----His death is ſaid to have happened the fourth day of February, in the year four hundred and forty, and his remains were interred, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral church at Wincheſter.

The perſon and character of Egbert.

This prince, as we are told, was but of a middling ſtature, but his limbs were ſtrong, and well proportioned. He was of a lively and chearful diſpoſition, valiant in the field, and wiſe in council, poſſeſſing every requiſite to render him a great general, and a perfect ſtateſman. His unbounded ambition is clearly evident from his great undertaking, in which he was particularly fortunate, loſing only one battle, (that which he fought againſt the Danes at Carrum) amongſt the numbers to which his various expeditions led him *.

The wife of Egbert.

The wife of Egbert was named Red-burga; but the parentage of this lady is not recorded.----She was, by a law made amongſt the Weſt Saxons, (on account of the wicked Eadburge, who poiſoned her huſband Beorhtric, king of Weſſex, as we have already obſerved †) deprived of the title and honours of a queen. Some, however, have not ſpared to affirm, that ſhe had a great aſcendancy over the mind of her huſband, and that the ſevere law made againſt the Britons, as above related, was at her inſtigation ‡. By Red-burga, Egbert had iſſue two ſons and one daughter.

The iſſue of Egbert.

Ethelwulf, the eldeſt ſon of Egbert, was, in his infancy, committed to the care of Helmeſtan, biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom he was educated with the greateſt circumſpection, and trained up in learning and virtue; nor were martial exerciſes, or ſuch knowledge as was neceſſary to render him fit to take upon him the command of armies, neglected, as may be witneſſed by the conqueſts he obtained in his father's life time, both in Kent and Eſſex. This prince ſucceeded his father in the kingdom.

Athelſtan, the younger ſon of king Egbert, was, by his father, deputed vice-roy over the conquered provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex §, which he valiantly defended againſt the inſurrections of the Danes, as we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to obſerve.

Edgitha, the daughter of Egbert, was brought up to a monaſtic life. After the deceaſe of her father, her brother Ethelwulf committed her to the care of Modervina, a religious devotee in Ireland, who was much reputed for the holineſs of her life.--She afterwards built a nunnery at Polleſworth in Arden, on the north border of Warwick-

* Florent. Worceſt.

† Vol. 1. page 119.

‡ Johan Bever.

§ In various charters which are yet remaining of Ethelwulf's, this prince, (his brother,) has ſubſcribed his name as a witneſs ---An original one is preſerved in the Cotton Library, where he has ſigned himſelf † Æthelſtan Rex. This book is marked Auguſtus 2, and the charter is No. 25.

ſhire,

ſhire, upon a ſpot of ground which her brother Ethelwulf gave her for that purpoſe, and herſelf became abbeſs there, where ſhe died, and was buried.---Her ſanctity of life was ſuch that ſhe was ſainted after her death, and the place was called (by corruption) from her name, Saint Editha's of Polleſworth.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELWULF.

The ſecond Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 840. ÆTHELWULF, the eldeſt ſon of Egbert, ſucceeded him in the monarchy, while his brother Æthelſtan held the viceroyſhip over the conquered provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex.

Æthelwulf's natural tendency towards a religious life.

Æthelwulf was called to the crown, notwithſtanding that during his father's reign, he ſeemed to incline to a religious life. He had been placed firſt under the tuition of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and afterwards of a monk, named Swithen, a man of great learning and exemplary piety. He even took upon him the profeſſion of a monk, and was made a deacon. Some hiſtorians have affirmed, that upon the death of Helmſtan, his firſt preceptor, he was elected, if not conſecrated biſhop of Wincheſter;----but after the deceaſe of his father, being firſt abſolved from his religious vows by Pope Gregory, he reſigned his mitre to Swithen, and aſcended the throne of his anceſtors in the year 840*.

The deceaſe of Wiglaf, king of Mercia.

About this time, or perhaps juſt before the death of Egbert, Wiglaf, the ſubſtitute king of Mercia, died. Wiglaf ſeems peaceably to have enjoyed his kingdom, from the time of his being reinſtated by Egbert, until the day of his death.---He left behind him his widow-queen, named Cynethryth, by whom he had two children, who alſo out-lived him. Wigmund, a ſon †.---This prince married Elfleda, daughter of Coelwulf, king of Mercia; but he ſucceeded not his father in the government of that kingdom---and Edburga, a daughter, who married Ethelan, an earl of the province of Lincoln. Wiglaf was ſucceeded by Beortulf, who, like his predeceſſor, was tributary to the king of Weſſex.

Diſturbances occaſioned by the Danes.

In the firſt year of the reign of this prince, a large army of Danes, with a fleet of thirty-three ſhips, infeſted the borders of Weſſex, and at laſt landed at Southampton, where they deſtroyed every thing before them. Æthelwulf no ſooner heard of their arrival than he collected what forces he could, and ſent them to Southampton under the

* Rog. Hoveden. John Brompton. J. Redbourn; the laſt ſays only, "fuit dici-" pulus S. Swithini, &c. vid. fol. 120.

† The name of this ſon appears amongſt the witneſſes to an original charter made by Wiglaf, ſigned thus.

† Þꝫo Wiglaf Rex † Þꝫo Cynethryth Regina † Þꝫo Wigmund filiuſ Regiſ.

This charter is dated 831, and is in the Cotton Library, preſerved in a large book marked Auguſtus 2. No. 89.

con-

conduct of a valiant chieftain, named Vulfheard, who coming up with the Danes, defeated their army after a bloody encounter, and put them to flight with prodigious ſlaughter. In the mean time, another party of the Danes had landed at Portſmouth, againſt whom Æthelwulf diſpatched another of his principal officers, named Æthelhelm, at the head of the people of Dorſet. A ſharp engagement enſued between the two armies, in which the Saxons at firſt had the ſuperiority; but the Danes (being reinforced from time to time) at laſt prevailed, and drove their oppoſers from the field with the loſs of their leader, and a conſiderable part of their army*.

Freſh attempts of the Danes.

The great ſucceſs of the Danes in their laſt attempt made them ſtill more audacious in their undertaking, ſo that the following year they came over into England in greater numbers, and at a place called Mereſware, engaged with an army of the Saxons conducted by a chieftain named Herebryht. After a ſharp conflict, the Saxons were put to flight with the loſs not only of their leader, but alſo of the greater part of their army. Theſe fortunate beginnings ſeemed to open ſo fair a proſpect of future ſucceſs, that other companies of theſe invaders were continually coming over into England. A ſtrong party of them landed at Lindſey, whilſt others over-ran the kingdom of the eaſt Angles; and a third body landed in Kent, where, like an irreſiſtible torrent, they bore down every thing before them, plundering the country, burning the towns, and wantonly murdering the miſerable inhabitants †.

A. D. 842.

The Danes purſue their conqueſts.

Animated by the victories already obtained, they returned again the following year with their armies conſiderably reinforced, and landed on the borders of Kent, meeting with but little reſiſtance. They penetrated further into the heart of the kingdom than they had heretofore done, and deſtroying the country round Canterbury and Rocheſter, they continued their deſtructive march even to London ‡.

A. D. 843.

The battle of Carrum.

Æthelwulf, who in the mean time had been greatly harraſſed by the frequent and various invaſions of theſe free-booters, gathered a large army together, and the following year marched againſt their combined forces, who landing from a fleet of thirty-five ſhips, had advanced as far as Carrum. At this place another ſevere engagement enſued, in which Fortune ſtill favoured the attempts of the Danes; and the Saxons, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were driven out of the field, whilſt their adverſaries maintained the ground they had gained §.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 837.
† Chron. Sax. &c. &c.
‡ Ibid. ibid.
§ Id. ibid.

A. D. 845. The people of Somerſetſhire, about two years afterwards, under the conduct of Eanwulf, a valiant chieftain, and aſſiſted by Eaſtan, a biſhop, and Oſric, another leader, at the head of an army from Dorſetſhire, marched againſt the Danes, and falling ſuddenly upon them, obtained a compleat victory. The Danes, flying from the field, were purſued as far as the river Pendridan *. So little did the Danes expect this ſudden attack, and ſo conſiderable was their loſs, that deſpairing of being able for the preſent to make head againſt the Saxons, they withdrew from the ſouthern parts, which ſeem, for near the ſpace of ſix years, to have remained undiſturbed by theſe lawleſs invaders.

The Danes defeated.

A. D. 850. About this time, various parties of the Danes landed in the northern parts of the iſland, and pillaged the neighbouring counties, eſpecially Northumberland, whoſe inhabitants heavily felt the cruel oppreſſions of their ſavage invaders †; but unhappily, the accounts which are handed down to us of theſe tranſactions are ſo very obſcure, that nothing regular or certain can be diſcovered, not even the ſucceſſion of the rulers; for though a variety of names are found in ſeveral hiſtorians of kings and chieftains, yet the time they aſſumed the direction of affairs, or over what part of the province they preſided, is very uncertain ‡. The inhabitants of Northumberland were at this time divided amongſt themſelves, and governed occaſionally by rulers of their own chuſing, who were ſuddenly advanced to their dignity by one party, and as ſuddenly diſplaced when another prevailed. By theſe inteſtine diſcords their country was left open to the attacks of the common enemy, the Danes, who improved every opportunity that promiſed ſucceſs.

Diſturbances in the North.

A. D. 851. The year after the commencement of theſe troubles in the north, the Danes returned again to the ſouth, and landed in Weſſex. The alarm was no ſooner given of their arrival, than the inhabitants of Devonſhire, with earl Ceorl at their head, advanced againſt them, and in a bloody battle (which was fought at a place called Weganbeorche) the Danes were put to flight with prodigious ſlaughter §. About the ſame time, another party of the Danes, who with a fleet of ſhips had infeſted the ſea coaſts of Kent, were alſo defeated by Æthelſtan, king of that province, aſſiſted by his general Ealchere. In this encounter the Danes loſt, not only a great part of their army, but alſo nine of their ſhips, which were taken by the Kentiſh men. This victory was obtained near Sandwich; but ſuch is the negligence of the early hiſtorians, that it is impoſſible to ſay whether the battle was fought by ſea or land ‖.

The Danes defeated in two battles.

* Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd H. Hunt. &c.
† S. Dunelm.
‡ Vide Holingſhead, vol. 1. fol. 202.
§ Chron. Sax. an. 851.
‖ Henry Huntingdon & Rog. Hoveden; indeed, both of them have it "navali præ-" lio," but the Saxon authors are ſilent upon this head.

Shortly

Shortly after this action, Æthelſtan, king of Kent, the eldeſt ſon of Æthelwulf, died, and was ſucceeded in his government by Ethelbryht his brother, the ſecond ſon of Æthelwulf.

The death of Æthelſtan, king of Kent.

The two important victories obtained this year againſt the Danes, prevented not a continuation of their invaſions; for not long after their laſt defeat, a ſtrong party of them, in fifty of their largeſt ſhips *, entered the mouth of the Thames, and made excurſions as far as Canterbury, which they deſtroyed, and from thence proceeded to London, which ſhared the ſame miſerable fate †. Beorhtulf, king of Mercia, collected what forces he could, and made head againſt the Danes; but being overcome in a bloody battle, he fled, and left the kingdom to the mercy of the conquerors, who ſoon after croſſed the Thames into Surry, and proceeded as far as Ocley. In the mean time, Æthelwulf (who had been employed in raiſing forces to oppoſe the Danes) had now collected a very powerful army, and being informed of the motions of the enemy, ſo ordered his marches, that he came up with them on their arrival at Ocley. In this place, a long and bloody battle was fought between the two armies, in which Fortune ſo far favoured the Saxons, that the Danes were totally overthrown with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter as had never before been experienced.

Further diſturbances from the Danes, and the battle of Oeley.

After this defeat, the remnant of the Daniſh army, who eſcaped the carnage, fled before the conquerors, and ſought refuge in the iſle of Thanet, where they abode the whole winter. This is obſerved by ancient hiſtorians to have been the firſt winter they remained on this iſland, having been accuſtomed to quit it at the approach of that ſeaſon, and return to their native lands ‡. Whether it was through fear of being intercepted by the Saxons in their courſe, or the ſhame of returning with the ignominy of ſuch a conſiderable defeat, cannot be determined. However, their ſpirits were ſo much dejected by ſo great and unexpected a loſs, that they were fearful of recommencing the war with the Saxons till they were forced to it in their own defence, as will hereafter appear.

Beorhtulf, king of Mercia, who was driven from the kingdom by the Danes, as has been already related, reigned (ſubſtitute for Æthelwulf) eleven years, during which time he does not appear to have performed any actions of conſequence worthy of being recorded.----He had a queen whoſe name was Sæthryth, and a ſon named Berhtric §.

Some account of Beorhtulf, king of Mercia.

* Thus ſays the Saxon chronicle. Aſſerius (in vit. Ælfredi, fol. 1.) declares, there were 350, with whom Ethelwerd agrees; though Huntingdon and Hoveden ſay 250, but on what authority may be doubted.

† Ethelwerd, &c. Chron. Sax. ſub an. 851.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 851. Ethelwerd, Hunt. Hoveden, &c.

§ This appears from an old charter of Beorhtulf's, dated 845, in which his queen and ſon ſign their names thus:

† Þꝛo Sæþꝛyþ Regina,
† Beꝛhtꝛic fil. Regiꝛ.

The

A. D. 853. After the expulſion of Beorhtulf, and the conqueſt of the Danes at Ocley, Burhred was appointed by Æthelwulf to the government of Mercia under him. Two years elapſed before any appearance of war called the Saxons to the field; but in the year 853, the Britons of North Wales (who had ſo long continued inactive) began to make incroachments upon the territories of Burhred, who, by the advice of his council, implored the aſſiſtance of Æthelwulf, that he might be in a condition to take the field immediately, and by ſuddenly attacking his enemy, gain a deciſive victory, which would ſecure the repoſe of his kingdom. Æthelwulf complied with the requeſt of Burhred, and perſonally led his army into Mercia, where, being joined by the forces of the Mercians, he opened his campaign againſt the Britons with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were ſpeedily brought under ſubjection, and peace again reſtored *.

Expedition againſt the Britons of North Wales.

The Danes overcome.

Whilſt Æthelwulf was thus employed againſt the Britons, Ealchere (the general who aſſiſted Æthelſtan againſt the Danes in the battle which was fought at Sandwich, as before related) with a large army of Kentiſhmen, joined by Hudda, another chieftain, at the head of a powerful reinforcement from Suſſex, attacked the Danes, who ſtill remained in the iſle of Thanet, and obtained a dear-bought victory, great numbers having fallen by the ſword on both ſides, beſides many who periſhed in the waters †.

Æthelwulf marries his daughter to Burhred.

Æthelwulf, ſoon after his return from Wales, gave his only daughter Æthelſwitha in marriage to Burhred, king of Mercia. The marriage was celebrated at Chippingham in Wiltſhire, where Æthelwulf then abode. Not long after this marriage, Æthelwulf ſent his ſon Ælfred, a child of five years of age, to Rome, accompanied by a noble retinue, where Ælfred was conſecrated king by Pope Leo ‡,

The Danes remove to Sheppy.

Towards the latter end of the year, the Danes, who had not yet recovered their ſtrength, left the iſle of Thanet, and, for the firſt time, made their abode in the iſle of Sheppy §.

A. D. 854. The prejudices of a Monkiſh education very ſtrongly affected the mind of Æthelwulf, who, in the year 854, dedicated the tenth part of the revenue of his own lands, and thoſe of his ſubjects, to the uſe of the clergy, who were, at this time, exempted from all military ſer-

The clergy exempted from taxes, and military ſervices.

The charter is preſerved in the Cotton Library, in a book marked Tiberius, A. 3. Speed gives this king another ſon, whoſe name he calls Berefred, and ſays he was the cauſe of the martyrdom of St. Wyſtan. Speed Chron. fol. 253.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 853. Simon Dunelm. &c.

† Chron. Sax. ut ſup. Aſſerius, Hen. Hunt & Hoveden ſay, that both the Engliſh leaders were ſlain—others are ſilent upon that head, but declare the victory remained doubtful.

‡ Chron. Sax. &c.

§ Ibid. ibid.

vices

vices or taxes of any kind. In return for theſe miſplaced bounties, the clergy were obliged to ſay maſſes, to make continual prayer for the welfare of the king and his nobles, and to implore heaven to enable them to vanquiſh thoſe lawleſs enemies who were daily infeſting the kingdom *.

Some time after, Æthelwulf, thinking that this proof of his religious zeal was not ſufficiently conſpicuous, undertook a journey to Rome, attended by many of his nobles. He alſo took with him his young ſon Ælfred, then but lately returned to Weſſex from his firſt journey. Æthelwulf, and his retinue, being well received at Rome, they continued there a year at leaſt; during which time he repaired the Engliſh ſchool which had been founded there by Offa, the great king of the Mercians, but was now falling to decay. He alſo performed ſeveral other pious acts; and in return for the kind reception he met with from the Pope, he cauſed a penny to be collected from every houſe in his dominions to be ſent yearly to Rome, partly for the uſe of the Pope himſelf, and partly for other religious purpoſes †. It is alſo ſaid, that he paid yearly three hundred marks to the Pope, to be diſpoſed of in the following manner: one hundred for the lights in the church of Saint Peter; another hundred for the lights in the church of Saint Paul; and the other hundred for the uſe of the Pope himſelf.

Æthelwulf's journey to Rome.

Æthelwulf, after he left Rome, returned home through France, and ſtopped ſome time at the court of Charles the Bald, who then reigned there. During his ſtay in France, he fell in love with Judith, daughter to Charles, to whom he was married with great pomp. Some time after the celebration of the nuptials, Æthelwulf returned to his own dominions, having been abſent full two years ‡.

A. D. 855.

Æthelwulf marries the daughter of the French king.

While Æthelwulf had been thus employed abroad, Æthelbald, his eldeſt ſon, joined by ſome powerful noblemen, had formed a dangerous rebellion at home. The chief abettors of this treaſon were Echſtan, biſhop of Shirborn, and Eanwulf, earl of Somerſet. Upon the return of Æthelwulf to Britain, the rebellious party took the field, and appeared in arms againſt him. They, however, endeavoured to cover their revolt with ſome ſhew of juſtice, alledging that Æthelwulf had

A. D. 856.

The rebellion of Æthelbald.

*Vide W. Malmſb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2. & alia.

† The pennys thus collected were after called Romeſcot, or Peter Pence—and was firſt granted by Offa to be gathered throughout Mercia. Æthelwulf therefore renewed and extended this ſelf ſame grant. An old French chronicle, ſaid to have been written by a monk of Canterbury, contains as follows: "*Ciſt Ethelwulf dona la dune hide de tute Weſtſexe a deu franche equite de tut ſeculeres ſervices pur peſtre e veſtir le poveres et pus ala a Rome e dona a ſein pere cheſcun an de cheſcun meiſun dengletere i dener ke lom apele dener ſein pere ceo fu celi ke primes dona la don cheſcun an treis cenz Beſanz a Rome lun cent a ſeint pere a luminarie - lautre a ſeint Pol -- le tierz a la Poſtoille.*" This is from a M. S. preſerved in the Cotton Library marked Galba E. 3.

‡ Chron. Sax. &c.

taken

taken his youngeſt ſon abroad, and cauſed him to be conſecrated and crowned king, to the prejudice of Æthelbald, to whom the crown of Weſſex belonged by birthright----moreover, that in his return to his own kingdom he had married a foreign woman, and brought her home with him; and, contrary to the eſtabliſhed law of Weſſex, had conferred on her the title of queen, and placed her upon the throne *. ———This rebellion had a moſt alarming appearance, for the whole kingdom was divided in their intereſts, ſome ſiding with the father, and ſome with the ſon; but, at the time when both parties ſeemed ripe for actual war, this terrible cloud, which threatened the ruin of the ſtate, diſperſed, and that without the leaſt fatal conſequences; for Æthelwulf, who was naturally of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, rather than hazard ſo deſtructive a war, pacified his rebellious ſon by ceding to him a conſiderable part of his dominions †.

A. D. 858. Æthelwulf died two years after his return from Rome, and his body was enterred with great ſolemnities in Winchester cathedral ‡. Æthelwulf was a man of mild and amiable diſpoſition, naturally more inclined to peace than to war; yet when his country's ſafety rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to take up arms, he led his armies to the field, and, by his own perſonal valour, ſet an example worthy the imitation of his followers. The miſtaken notions he had imbibed in his youth from a monaſtic education, often led him into a wrong ſyſtem of politics, and ſo far engaged his attention at laſt, that following the faſhionable ſuperſtition of the times, he neglected the more material buſineſs of the ſtate.

The death and character of Æthelwulf.

The wives and iſſue of Æthelwulf.

Æthelwulf had two wives; of which the firſt was Oſburga, the daughter of a great officer in the court of Æthelwulf §, named Oſlac, who is ſaid to have been a deſcendant from the family of Stuf and Witgar, two Saxon noblemen, nephews to Cerdic firſt king of Weſſex, who ſettled in the iſle of Wight ‖. By this lady Æthelwulf had four ſons ¶, Æthelbald, Æthelbryht, Æthered and Ælfred, who all ſucceſſively

* Concerning this law, and the reaſon why it was made, ſee page 119, vol. 1. of this work.—— Carte ſays concerning this matter, that Æthelwulf gave offence to the children of the firſt marriage, who either did not like their ſtep-mother, or were alarmed at ſome ceremonies, ſuch as anointing her with oil, and putting a crown upon her head: ceremonies not yet adopted into the Engliſh ceremonial, but uſed by Hinomar, archbiſhop of Reims at her marriage.—Carte's general Hiſt. of England.

† Aſſerius ſays, all the weſtern, as well as the beſt part of his dominions.

‡ Speed informs us, that he was buried firſt at a place called Stamry, where he died, but was afterwards taken up, and reburied in Winchester cathedral.

§ "Famoſi pincerna Reg. Edelwulfi," Sim. Dunelm.

‖ See page 95 & 97. vol. 1.

¶ Speed from Copgrave makes mention of a fifth ſon of Æthelwulf's, named Neote, who, adds he was, in his youth, brought

ceſſively ſucceeded to the throne. He had alſo by Oſburga a daughter, Æthelſwitha, who was married to Burhred, king of Mercia, as hath been already mentioned. The ſecond wife of Æthelwulf was Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France, a lady of great beauty, but by him ſhe had no iſſue.

brought up at Glaſtonbury; and afterwards proved a man of great learning in the univerſity of Oxford, founded by his brother Ælfred; from thence he went to Cornwall, where he founded a monaſtery, which was after his deceaſe called Neoteſtock. When he died, his body was enterred with great ſolemnity in the county of Huntington, at a place then called Amilfeſbury, but after St. Neot's in honour of him. Speed's Chron.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELBALD.

The third Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 858. ÆTHELBALD, who by rebellion in his father's life time, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the larger and better part of his dominions, at his death ſucceeded to the whole. Soon after he aſcended the throne, he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, who had been his father's wife, which inceſtuous action, in open violation of the chriſtian laws, juſtly excited the hatred of his ſubjects; and it is probably owing to the indifference of his character that ſo little is recorded of the tranſactions of his ſhort reign *.

Æthelbald marries his father's wife.

During the time that Æthelbald ſat upon the throne, the Danes appear to have remained in perfect peace. It is probable, that the defeats they had received towards the latter end of the reign of Æthelwulf were ſo deciſive, that they had not as yet recovered ſtrength ſufficient to renew the war with the Saxons.

The Danes continue in peace during the reign of Æthelbald.

A. D. 860. After a reign of two years Æthelbald died, and his body was buried at Sherborne †. To delineate the character of this prince with any certainty, is impoſſible. As he was by no means a favourite of the clergy, the monkiſh writers have ſuppreſſed, or haſtily paſſed over his amiable qualities, and drawn only the dark ſhades of his character ‡; yet, whatever were his errors, he wanted not perſonal valour, of which he gave ſignal proof, while fighting under his father, at the battle of Ocley, where the Danes received ſo ſignal a defeat.

Æthelbald's deceaſe, &c.

After the death of Æthelbald, his wife Judith was ſent back to France; and, as ſhe was returning to her father's court, ſhe was ſeized upon by Baldwin, a nobleman, in the foreſt of Arden, and by him detained till ſhe conſented to marry him. Some time after, Baldwin, being reconciled to Charles, king of France, his father-in-law, he was by him created earl of Flanders. By this lady Baldwin had iſſue a ſon, named Baldwin after his father, who married Ælfreda, the youngeſt daughter of Ælfred the Great.——Æthelbald left no iſſue to ſucceed him in the kingdom.

The wife of Æthelbald returns to France.

* Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi, &c.

† Chron. Sax. ſub an. 860.

‡ Huntington, it is true, makes mention of this prince in a very favourable light; and Mat. Weſt. declares, that he repented of his inceſtuous marriage; but Aſſerius, who lived at that time, makes not the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELBRYHT.

The fourth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ÆTHELBRYHT, who from the time of his uncle Æthelſtan's death, had held the viceroyſhip of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, upon the deceaſe of his brother Æthelbald, ſucceeded to the throne of Weſſex, and his younger brother Æthered was promoted to the viceroyſhip which he himſelf before poſſeſſed *. A. D. 860.

Æthelbryht ſucceeds his brother.

Soon after the coronation of Æthelbryht, the Danes (who had now recovered their ſtrength by the arrival of freſh parties) made a deſcent upon the ſouthern parts of Weſſex, and proceeded as far as Wincheſter, which city they deſtroyed, and pillaged the country round about; but as they were returning to their ſhips in triumph, loaded with their ſpoils, they were unexpectedly met by a large army of the Saxons, commanded by Oſric, earl of Hampton, and Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the Danes were routed with great ſlaughter, and the remnant that eſcaped fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips, leaving all their booty behind them in the poſſeſſion of the Saxon army †. This ſignal defeat damped the courage of the Danes, who returned home diſheartened, and ceaſed, for a conſiderable time, to moleſt the quiet of the Saxons.

The Danes ſpoil Wincheſter, and are defeated.

Æthelbryht now ruled over his dominions in profound tranquillity upwards of four years, at which time the Danes, having ſtrongly reinforced their army, landed in the iſle of Thanet, and, in the heat of their revenge, pillaged and deſtroyed the country wherever they came; but ſoon after they made a league with the inhabitants of Kent, that, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money being paid to them, they would ceaſe all hoſtilities.----But ſoon after the commencement of the truce, the Danes, contrary to their ſolemn engagements, left their ſtrong holds by night, and waſted all the eaſtern parts of Kent; nor did they meet with much reſiſtance, for the miſerable inhabitants depending upon the continuation of the peace, were diſperſed, each following his ſeparate employment at his own home, unſuſpicious of any danger. This breach of the truce being quickly made known throughout A. D. 865.

Breach of the truce, and defeat of the Danes.

* Chron. Sax. &c. † Ibid. &c.

all Kent, the people inſtantly armed to revenge themſelves, and ſoon forming large parties, they made head againſt the Danes, whom they routed with great ſlaughter, and at laſt drove them entirely out of the country *.

A. D. 866. Early in the beginning of the following year Æthelbryht died, much lamented by his ſubjects, whom he had governed upwards of five years in a prudent manner, and by whom he was dearly loved.----So haſtily have the ancient hiſtorians paſſed over the life and actions of this prince, that it is impoſſible to delineate his character with any perfection; yet, from the feeble tracings that are left, we diſcover the features of a virtuous diſpoſition, and many amiable qualities. His remains were interred, with great ſolemnity, at Shirborne †.

The death of Æthelbryht.

If he was ever married, the name of his wife is now unknown, and the iſſue, which are attributed to him, are rather uncertain. They are ſaid to have been two ſons, Ethelm and Ethelwald, both mentioned in the will of king Ælfred as his brother's children; the latter of theſe proved a dangerous enemy to his firſt couſin Edward the elder, the ſon of Ælfred the Great.

The ſuppoſed iſſue of Æthelbryht.

* Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi, & Chron. Sax. ſub an. 865, &c. † Ibid.

ÆTHERED,

ÆTHERED, or ÆTHELRED.

The fifth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ÆTHERED, the third ſon of Æthelwulf, ſucceeded his brother in the government of the Heptarchy. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne of Weſſex, he took into his own hands the provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, which had before been held by the next heir to the crown. His younger brother, Ælfred, however, at the coronation of Æthered made a demand of theſe provinces in the preſence of all the nobility then aſſembled; alledging, at the ſame time, that he grounded his demand on the promiſe of Æthered, that he ſhould have them upon his coming to the throne of Weſſex, which promiſe Æthered now refuſed to perform. The diſpute was ſettled by a new agreement, that Æthered ſhould hold thoſe provinces in his own hand during his life, and that the whole of the kingdom ſhould deſcend to his brother Ælfred upon his deceaſe; and that, in the mean time, Ælfred ſhould have his ſhare of all the lands which ſhould be conquered by their joint forces; alſo, that their ſons ſhould ſucceed one another in their order; and, whoever ſhould be the ſurvivor, was to give the other's children all thoſe lands that the father was made heir to by Æthelwulf, as well as all that he ſhould acquire by conqueſt. This joint agreement was ratified and confirmed in a full council of all the nobility of Weſſex held at Swinburne *. A. D. 866

Agreement between Æthered and Ælfred.

In the firſt year of the reign of Æthered, the Danes again returned to England. They came now with a numerous army (under the conduct of two noblemen, who were brothers, named Hingnar and Hubba) in a powerful fleet, and landed on the borders of the province of the Eaſt Angles, where they continued during the winter, making a league with the inhabitants, on certain conditions, to forbear all hoſtilities for a time.

The Danes land in the Eaſt Angles.

In the ſpring of the year following, the Daniſh hoſt left the province of the Eaſt Angles, and paſſing beyond the Humber, entered A. D. 867.

The Danes go to Northumberland.

* See Carte's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. page 296 & 297.

the kingdom of Northumberland, and proceeded as far as York *. In their courſe they met with an army of Northumbers, led by Oſbryht, who, with Ælla, another uſurping prince, held the government of Northumberland at that time. A ſharp engagement enſued between the Danes and the Northumbers, which ended in the favour of the former; for the latter were put to flight with the loſs of their king, and the greater part of their army. This unfortunate defeat of the Northumbers opened a free paſſage to the Danes, who, when they arrived at York, took poſſeſſion of that city †. While they continued there, Ælla was informed of the overthrow of his co-partner Oſbryht, and learning where the Danes reſided, he collected all the forces he could, and marched out againſt them. In the mean time, the Danes continued at York, waiting his arrival. When he approached the city, they came out againſt him, and, in a pitched battle, the Northumbers were again overthrown with the loſs of the greater part of their army, and of Ælla their king, who was ſlain upon the ſpot; and from him, the place where the battle was fought, was after called Ællacroft ‡. Theſe two kings being thus ſlain, and the chief force of the Northumbers cut to pieces, the whole province was left, as it were, defenceleſs, and open to the marches of the Danes, who looked upon their footing as ſo firmly eſtabliſhed there, that they ſet up a king of their own named Guthred, who governed the whole kingdom §.

Reaſons for the rapid progreſs of the Danes in Northumberland.

It is ſufficiently evident, that the Northumbers were reduced to this miſerable condition by their own neglect; for inſtead of maintaining unity and order amongſt themſelves, they were divided into parties, and at continual variance with each other. Even the princes or kings, whom they ſet up over them, ſeem to have paid ſo little regard to juſtice, that their reigns were diſturbed with continual rebellions; nay, it is affirmed by ſome authors, that the intemperate luſt and ignorance of Oſbryht excited the reſentment of one of his chief nobles, who, in order to revenge himſelf, fled to the Danes, and perſuaded them to undertake the conqueſt of Northumberland ‖. Whilſt things were in this

* Some authors have declared, that the Danes firſt ſpoiled the iſland of Lindiſforne before they entered Northumberland, vid. S. Dunelm.

† Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi, Chron. Sax. ſub an. 867.

‡ Ibid, & Simon Dunelm.

§ Simon Dunelm.

‖ Brompton. S. Dunelm, &c. Simon Dunelm in particular has related the ſtory at large; which is, in brief, as follows. Oſbryht, who reigned over one part of Northumberland, raviſhed a noble lady, the wife of a chieftain named Bruern Brocard, who was thereby juſtly incenſed againſt Oſbryht. He therefore left Northumberland, and went over into Denmark, and beſought Codrinus, who was king there, to revenge his cauſe; at the ſame time informing him of the weakneſs of his country through the diviſions and inteſtine troubles which exiſted there. The hopes of conquering ſo large a tract of land ſoon induced the Danes to lend a favourable ear to the intreaties of Bruern. Therefore, a large army, under the conduct of Hinger and

this dreadful ſtate, the Northumbers were obliged to make peace with the Danes in the beſt manner they could, and ſubmit quietly to the government of their king; and the conquerors, on theſe conditions, promiſed to ceaſe all hoſtilities *.

Having thus ſecured themſelves in Northumberland, the Daniſh army ſet forward the following ſummer, and proceeding ſouthward came to Nottingham, where, meeting with no reſiſtance ſufficient to diſlodge them, they continued during the winter. A. D. 868. The Danes winter at Nottingham.

In the beginning of the following year, Burhred, king of Mercia, by the advice of his council, ſent meſſengers to Æthered and his brother Ælfred, informing them where the Danes had taken up their reſidence, and the dangerous tendency of their being permitted to remain there unmoleſted, and at the ſame time begging their aſſiſtance againſt them. When Æthered and his brother received this intelligence, they ſpeedily collected what troops they could, and marched towards Nottingham, being joined on the way by Burhred and the Mercian army. As ſoon as they reached Nottingham (wherein the Danes had fortified themſelves) they laid a cloſe ſiege thereto, and ſo harraſſed the beſieged, that they were obliged to conclude a peace with them, and return to the North. They then retired to York, where they remained the winter following †. A. D. 869. The Danes driven back to York.

The ſucceeding ſpring the Danes left York, and paſſing through Lindſey, ranged along the eaſtern borders of England, till they came to a place called Thetford in the province of the Eaſt Angles. This was a bloody and deſtructive march; for the mercileſs Danes laid the country waſte with fire and ſword wherever they came; towns and cities they raſed to the ground, and miſerably butchered the inhabitants, ſparing neither young nor old, who were ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The monaſteries of Bradney, Croyland and Peterborough, together with the nuns houſe, in the iſle of Ely, were all totally deſtroyed ‡. Eadmund, who at this time was king of the province of the Eaſt Angles, uſed all his endeavours to ſtop the courſe of theſe invaders, who, like a torrent, overwhelmed his dominions with ruin. Having collected all the forces he was able to muſter, he followed them to Thetford; but fortune ſtill favouring their attempts, the army of the Eaſt Angles was overthrown, and Eadmund himſelf A. D. 870. The murder of Eadmund, king of the Eaſt Angles.

and Hubba, returned with him to England; and the end of his revenge was the deſtruction of his country. This, by the ſame author, is ſaid to have been the firſt cauſe of the outrages of the Danes which followed.

* Chron. Sax. ut ſup. &c.
† Chron. Sax. &c.
‡ S. Dunelm, &c.

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narrowly eſcaped their purſuit. At laſt, however, he reached the caſtle at Framingham, where he fortified himſelf in the beſt manner he could. But he had not long reſided there, when the Danes, learning whither he had retired, came and laid ſiege to the caſtle, and at laſt, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the fortreſs was taken, and he himſelf made priſoner. No ſooner had they got poſſeſſion of his perſon, than they began, in the moſt cruel manner, to inflict ſevere tortures upon him, beating him with ſcourges, and lancing his fleſh with their daggers----when they were tired of tormenting him, they bound him to a tree, and ſhot him to death with their arrows.

Reaſons for the cruelty of the Danes.

Various reaſons are aſſigned by the ancient hiſtorians for the cruelty with which the Danes treated this prince; ſome affirming, that it was becauſe he would not renounce the chriſtian faith, and worſhip the dols of the conquerors *; and this appears really to have been the truth, eſpecially if we allow the pious character given of this prince by the monkiſh authors to have been juſtly drawn. Others, again, relate a ſtory concerning the murder of Lothbrock, a Dane, the father of Hingar and Hubba, with which Eadmund was falſely charged †.

Some account of the Eaſt Angles.

The hiſtory of the Eaſt Angles, from the death of Ethelbyrhte (at which time this province fell into the hands of Offa, king of Mercia, and afterwards became a part of the Weſt Saxon dominion) is very imperfect. We learn, however, that about the year 854, there reigned a king named Offa in this province, who, at that time undertook a journey to the Holy Land. Paſſing through Saxony, he adopted Eadmund, ſon of king Alkmund (a near relation of his) as heir to the crown. Offa dying at Port Saint George, on his return home, ſent his ring to Eadmund, thereby conſtituting him king of the Eaſt Angles. When Eadmund heard of the death of Offa, and had received

* Aſſer. ann. W. Malmſ. lib. 2. &c.

† Matthew Weſtminſter, & alia. The ſtory mentioned above in brief is thus. Lothbrock, the father of Hingar and Hubba, one day amuſing himſelf with his hawk upon the ſea ſhore, the bird fell into the ſea, to recover which, he put from ſhore in a little boat, when a tempeſt ariſing ſuddenly, he was driven out to ſea; and after having narrowly eſcaped drowning, was driven a ſhore on the coaſt of Norfolk, where he was well received by Eadmund, then king of the Eaſt Angles; who conceiving a great eſteem for him, but eſpecially becauſe of his great ſkill in managing the hawkes and hawking, inſomuch, that Berick, the king's falconer, being greatly envious and jealous of him, ſlew him privately in a wood, where his body was diſcovered by means of his favourite ſpaniel; and Berick being convicted of the murder, was condemned to be put into the ſame boat in which Lothbrock came, without rudder, oars, or ſail, and ſo left to the mercy of the waves; but fate conducted him to the very port from whence Lothbrock had firſt put to ſea, where, he being known, was ſeized by the Danes; but to free himſelf from puniſhment, he accuſed his maſter, king Eadmund, of being the whole contriver (if not the perpetrator) of this cruel murder; in revenge of which, Hingar and Hubba, the ſons of the deceaſed Lothbrock, brought a great army into England, where, proving victorious over the forces of king Eadmund, himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſhot to death with arrows. Mat. Weſt. &c.

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the ring, he came over into England with a ſuitable retinue, and being well received by the inhabitants of the Eaſt Angles, was crowned king, with great acclamations of joy, by Humberchtus, biſhop of the Eaſt Angles, in a royal city named Burna, in the year 855; ſo that he had ſat upon the throne fifteen years when he was murdered, as before related. After the Danes had put him to death, his body was taken up, and buried at a town, which, from being the burial place, was ever afterwards called St. Edmond's Bury *. Upon the death of Eadmund, the Danes took poſſeſſion of the whole province, and ſet up a king of their own named Godrun, to govern there †.

A. D. 871.

The great ſucceſs which the Danes had hitherto met with encouraged them to make freſh attacks upon the Saxons; therefore, leaving the Eaſt Angles under the government of the new king, they marched further into the heart of the kingdom, and came to a town called Readingam ‡, on the borders of Weſſex, where they halted. Two days after their arrival at this town, a bloody ſkirmiſh happened between two of their chief leaders, with their bands who were foraging, and the Saxons under the command of Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire. The Saxons contrived to intercept the Danes when they were at a conſiderable diſtance from their camp. The Danes, perceiving their danger, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance, till at laſt, after great ſlaughter on both ſides, one of the Daniſh chiefs named Sidroc, being killed, and his party routed, the reſt were obliged to retreat in the beſt manner they could, and the Saxons obtained a compleat victory §.

The Danes go to Reading.

In the mean time, Æthered, king of Weſſex, together with his brother Ælfred, who had taken every meaſure they could to prevent the progreſs of the Danes, had now collected a powerful army together, and, four days after the victory obtained by Æthelwulf, coming up with the Danes at Reading, he gave them battle. The Danes, being ſuperior in force to the Saxons, obtained the victory, after an obſtinate reſiſtance from their opponents, and with ſo much loſs to themſelves, that they thought it not prudent, at that time, to hazard another battle. They, therefore, left Reading, and went to Aſſendune. The Saxons ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in this battle; and, amongſt the reſt, the valiant Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire, loſt his life ‖. Notwithſtanding the loſs on the ſide of the Saxons, and the advantage gained by the Danes, Æthered, and his brother Ælfred, reſolved, with the forces they had yet left, to follow them to Aſſendune, which they did, with ſuch expedition, that, in four days, the two ar-

The battle of Reading.

* Malmſb. &c.
† Sim. Dunelm, Mat. Weſt. &c.
‡ Reading in Berkſhire, See Chron. Sax.
ſub an. 871.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid.

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mies met again. The Danes had now divided their forces into two bodies, one of which was led by two chiefs, who bore the title of kings, named Hleafdene and Bachfecg; and the other, by ſome principal noblemen. When Æthered ſaw the arrangement of his enemies, he alſo made two bodies of his own army, one of which he led himſelf, and the other he committed to the charge of Ælfred his brother.—Ælfred began the battle *, and being ſeconded by the king and his party, the Danes were forced from the advantageous ground they had poſſeſſed in the beginning of the encounter, and after much ſlaughter, were put to flight, when the Saxons obtained a complete victory. In this battle the Danes loſt Bachfecg the king, who was one of their chief leaders, five earls †, and many thouſand of leſs note. This victory, therefore, was eſteemed the greateſt that had been till then obtained over the Danes in England.

The battle of Baſing.

The Danes, diſheartened by the important conqueſt which the Saxons had gained over them, fled, day and night, till they reached Baſing, being ſtill purſued by the king, and his brother Ælfred. Fourteen days after the laſt action, they again fought the Danes, but were overcome, and obliged to leave the field with great loſs. After the Danes had obtained this victory ‡, they moved from Baſing, and went to Mertune, where they were joined by a conſiderable reinforcement of their countrymen, who had but lately arrived in England §.

The battle of Mertune.

Æthered and his brother having recruited their army, followed the Danes to Mertune, where another bloody battle was fought. At the beginning of the engagement, the Saxons prevailed againſt the Danes, but the latter continually receiving reinforcements, the Saxons were, at laſt, overcome, and obliged to retreat after much ſlaughter, leaving the field a ſecond time to the Danes. In this battle Eadmund, biſhop of Shirborne, was ſlain, and Æthered himſelf received his death's wound.----After which he was conveyed from the field of battle to a town called Witingham, where he died the twenty-third day of April, in the year 871, after a troubleſome reign of near five years; and his body was ſolemnly buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire ‖.

The character of Æthered cannot be drawn.

The whole time this prince ſat upon the throne, he was ſo much employed by the invaſions and diſturbances occaſioned by the Danes, that there is nothing recorded by the ancient hiſtorians concerning his political or private character. His perſonal valour is ſtrongly marked

* Æthered was, at that time, praying in his tent.---Aſſer. in vita Ælfredi.

† The names of the earles here ſlain were Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the younger; Oſbearn, Fræna and Harold. Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi & Chron. Sax. &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ Aſſerius.

‖ With this epitaph upon his tomb: "In hoc loco quieſcit corpus ſancti Ethelredi regis Weſt Saxonum martyris, qui anno domini 871, 23 dies Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit." This tomb with the inſcription was very lately remaining. Vide Speed's Chronicle, fol. 328.

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in the various battles he fought againſt the Danes, and his unwearied aſſiduity to protect his falling country from ruin.

The wife of Æthered is not mentioned; but his iſſue, two ſons and one daughter. Ælfred, his eldeſt ſon, is ſaid to have been grandfather to Æthelwerd, a nobleman, who wrote a conciſe hiſtory of this kingdom, from the birth of Chriſt, down to his own times. The ſecond ſon of Æthered was named Oſwald; but of him we have not the faintеſt account left *. The daughter of this prince was named Thyre, who married, as ſome have affirmed, Godrun the Daniſh king of the Eaſt Angles †. The iſſue of Æthered.

* Both theſe princes are witneſſes to a charter of Æthelſwitha's, queen of Mercia, of lands granted to Abbendon abbey, dated 868. See an ancient copy of this charter in the Cotton Library in a MS marked Claudius B 6.

† Godrun is ſaid to have iſſue, by this lady, one ſon named Harold, which Harold married Gonhild, by whom he had Sweyne, king of Demark; Iringe, king of Northumberland; and Gonhild, queen of Wales. Sweyne, king of Denmark, was the father of Cnut, afterwards king of England.

ÆLFRED.

The ſixth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 871. UPON the deceaſe of Æthered, his brother Ælfred ſucceeded to the crown of Weſſex, notwithſtanding Æthered left male iſſue behind him; but this was not only according to the agreement made between Ælfred, and the king his brother (as before mentioned) but alſo agreeable to the tenor of the laſt teſtament of Æthered, who therein declared that he bequeathed the crown to Ælfred; beſides the ſons of Æthered were not at this time of age ſufficient to take upon them the government of the kingdom.

Ælfred meets his brother.

Ælfred was the youngeſt ſon of king Æthelwulf, born in Berkſhire, at a ſmall village called Wanting, in the year 849, and had juſt entered into his twenty-ſecond year when he aſcended the throne. No prince was ever received with greater joy by his ſubjects, for the great prudence and valour which he had manifeſted, in his brother's life time, led them to expect great things from his adminiſtration. He was, therefore crowned, with great ſplendour, at Wincheſter *.

Ælfred joyfully received by his ſubjects.

The battle of Wilton, &c.

About a month after the coronation of Ælfred, he led his army againſt the Danes, who were then at Wilton in Suſſex, and gave them battle. After an obſtinate reſiſtance on the part of the Saxons, the Danes proved victorious (though not without conſiderable loſs on their ſide) and chaſed their opponents, who fled with great precipitation to the woods, where they made good their retreat. The rumour of this overthrow of the Saxon army cauſed the people from all quarters to flock to the ſtandard of their king, who finding his army very powerful, ſet forward again to meet the Danes; but they retreated before him, not thinking themſelves in a condition to reſiſt.——Ælfred, with his army, in the mean time, marched on till he came to London, where a ſtrong party of the Danes had taken up their reſidence; but not daring to enter the field againſt him, they petitioned for peace upon his own terms, and offered him as many hoſtages as he ſhould demand. Their petition was granted by Ælfred, and the ſame day, according to agreement, hoſtages were delivered up by the Danes, and they imme-

* Speed Chron. fol. 329.

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diately quitted London, riding day and night, till they reached Exeter, which city, contrary to their covenants of peace, they beſieged and took, and there continued. Ælfred was no ſooner informed of this breach of faith, than he cauſed the Daniſh hoſtages to be put to death, and marched his army towards Exeter. But the Danes, who had no deſire to ſtand the hazard of a battle, left the city before he approached it, and withdrew to Chipenham in Wiltſhire, doing much miſchief in their march. Ælfred, on his arrival at Exeter, underſtanding that the Danes were departed, ſtill purſued them, and that with ſuch diligence, that they were obliged to try the fortune of a pitched battle, and ſo reſolutely deſperate were they in their attack, that the Saxons were again obliged to retreat, notwithſtanding the Danes loſt ſome of their chief leaders in the conflict *.

After the defeat at Chippinham, Ælfred being joined by conſider- The battle of Abbendune.
able reinforcements from Somerſetſhire, Wilton, and Dorſet, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved to follow the Danes, who were now at Abbendon. They accordingly ſet forward, and marching all night, reached Abbendon about nine o'clock the next morning, and ſuddenly ſet upon the Danes, who ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that, after a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide, it was impoſſible to determine which had the victory, or which ſuſtained the greater loſs †. Theſe are ſome of the particulars of the tranſactions of this troubleſome year, being the firſt of the reign of Ælfred, and in which the Saxons are ſaid to have fought nine pitched battles againſt the Danes ‡, beſides ſkirmiſhes and excurſions out of number; and though Ælfred and his party were not always ſucceſsful, yet ſo much was the Daniſh power reduced by the end of the year, that they ſued for peace with the Weſt Saxons, ſwearing never more to make war in their territories §.

The year following paſſed without any action between the Saxons A. D. 872.
and the Danes. A great party of the latter, who had reſided for ſome time at Reading in Berkſhire, came quietly to London, where they made a league with the Mercians, and then returned without attempting any breach of the peace which they had ſworn to keep ‖. Peace made between the Danes and Mercians.

The next year the Danes, leaving Reading, went with their army to A. D. 873.
Lindſey, and at a place called Torkſey, in the county of Northum- Peace again confirmed.

* Bromton, from whom the above particulars are collected, declares, that, in this battle, the Danes loſt Hubba the brother of Hingar, and Bruern Bocard, who firſt brought the Danes into Northumberland, according to the account given by Simon Dunelm. Bromton adds, that the Danes enterred the body of Hubba with loud cries, raiſing a tumulus over it, which was after called Hubbaſtow.

† Bromton.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 871. Aſſerius ſays only eight pitched battles.

§ Ibid. &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

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berland, remained quiet all the winter; during which time they renewed and confirmed, by freſh oaths, the peace made with the Mercians. In the mean time Ælfred was not idle, but conſtantly employed in the diſcipline of his troops, and the putting his territories in the beſt poſture of defence he was able; for the event fully proved, that, though the Danes at preſent kept up carefully the appearance of perfect peace and harmony, it was but affected for a time, ſince they were privately preparing for future hoſtilities, and their army was ſtrengthened by the arrival of a numerous party of their countrymen, under the conduct of two chiefs, who bore the title of kings, named Oſcytel and Anwynd. Theſe, together with Godrun, and the Danes, who were in the province of the Eaſt Angles, joined the main army *.

A. D. 874. The Danes conquer Mercia.

Theſe powerful reinforcements rendered the army of the Danes ſo ſtrong, that without the leaſt regard to the peace which they had ſworn to keep with the Mercians in the two former years, they now reſolved to commence hoſtilities, and accordingly entered Mercia with fire and ſword, and proceeded as far as Ripendune, where they overcame the Mercian forces, and conſtrained Burhred their king to fly from his dominions. After they had conquered Mercia, they returned to Ripendune, where they wintered, and ſet up a king of their own over the people of that province. This prince, whoſe name was Coelwulph †, had the regal dignity conferred upon him, on condition that he ſhould reſign his authority whenever they ſhould demand it of him ‡.

Death, &c. of Burhred.

Burhred, whom the Danes had compelled to leave his kingdom, was a man of great valour, and had been put in poſſeſſion of the Mercian crown by Æthelwulf, A. D. 851, and as a reward for his valiant conduct againſt the Britons, two years afterward, Æthelwulf gave him his daughter Æthelſwitha in marriage. He alſo uſed his utmoſt endeavours on the preſent occaſion againſt the Danes, until harraſſed out by their continual attacks, his army was ſo diminiſhed, that at laſt he was no longer in a condition to reſiſt them. He therefore left Mercia with Æthelſwitha his wife, and went to Rome, where he died the ſame year, and was buried there in a chapel of our Lady belonging to the Engliſh college. His queen ſurvived him fifteen years, and died at Padua in the year 889, where ſhe was honourably buried §.

A. D. 875. The Danes divide their army.

The following year, the Danes, encouraged by their ſucceſs, and ſtrengthened with freſh reinforcements, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, under the conduct of Hleafdene, marched into the conquered province of Northumberland, and ſpent the winter upon

* Ibid.
† Ibid.
‡ J. Bromton.
§ W. Malmſb. lib. 1. cap. 4.

the

the borders of the river Tine.----The ſecond party, headed by Godrun, Ocytel and Anwynd, went back to Grant Bridge * in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, where they alſo ſpent the ſummer. Whilſt theſe motions were making by the Daniſh army upon land during the ſummer, Ælfred, who was cruiſing upon the ſeas, fought ſeven of their ſhips, one of which he took, and put the reſt to flight.

Early in the beginning of the enſuing year, the Danes left Grant Bridge by night, and proceeded as far as the caſtle at Warham, where they were met by the Saxon army, under the conduct of Ælfred their king, who advanced thus far in order to oppoſe them; and at this place, either by power or policy, he obtained of them a ſolemn confirmation of peace †; for the Danes not only gave hoſtages on their part, but ſwore to him on their own holy bracelet, which was kept upon the altars of their gods, that they would by no means infringe their covenant ‡.----This oath, the moſt ſolemn they could take, was ſuch as they had never ſworn before to any king or nation whatever; yet, the very night after they had thus ſolemnly bound themſelves to peace, they ſtole ſilently out of the caſtle of Warham, and rode on to Exeter, which city they entered, committing many open hoſtilities. Ælfred finding that they had departed from Warham, and already broken their oath, purſued them with all poſſible ſpeed to Exeter, at which city they had ſtopped §. A. D. 876. Peace concluded.

Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting, the Daniſh fleet, which was ſailing round from the coaſt of the Eaſt Angles in order to reach Exeter, and join the army aſſembled there, was nearly deſtroyed by a terrible tempeſt, in which they loſt one hundred and twenty of their beſt ſhips. This dreadful accident happened to them near a place called Swanawic ‖. The Danes, who were lodged at Exeter in expectation of their ſupplies, were ſo much alarmed at the news of this misfortune, that they dared not to engage the Saxons who were now arrived, and lay before the town. They, therefore, ſued for peace, and gave as many hoſtages as Ælfred choſe to demand; after which they departed quietly into Mercia, where they abode for a time ¶. A. D. 877. The Daniſh fleet deſtroyed by a tempeſt.

The year following, having ſtrengthened and refreſhed their army, the Danes invaded the territories of the Weſt Saxons, and proceeded as far as Chipenham, waſting and deſtroying the country wherever they A. D. 878. The Danes invade Weſſex.

* Now Cambridge.

† Æthelwerd declares he obtained this peace for money: "Quin etiam rex pactum cum eis pacis confirmat ſimúlque pecuniam dando." Æthelwerdi Hiſt. ſub anno 876.

‡ Ibid. Aſſer. & Chron. Sax.

§ Ibid.

‖ Thought to be Sandwich.

¶ Chron. Sax. &c.

came,

came, insomuch that many of the inhabitants left their estates, and fled to foreign parts. Neither was Ælfred able to prevent their destructive ravages; for he, himself, with some few of his fast friends, were obliged to keep themselves secretly in the woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they supported themselves, as they could, by hunting, hawking, or fishing. Nor was their retreat known to the English themselves, who generally believed that their king was dead. It is indeed reported, that he was reduced to so miserable a condition as to be forced, in disguise, to seek protection in the house of a cottager in Somersetshire, named Dunwulf, where he remained for some time dependant upon him for his food, and subject to the various impertinencies of the peasant's wife. However, he bore his misfortunes with the greatest patience, and, instead of sinking under them, was ever thinking of the best methods of extricating himself from them, and of restoring tranquillity to his people*.

The Danes overthrown in Dorsetshire.

In the mean time, a large party of the Danes, under the conduct of Hlasdene, and a brother of Hingar, left Mercia, and with twenty-three ships, infested the sea coasts of Wessex, and at last landed in Dorsetshire, where they took great spoils, and proceeded with great security until they reached a strong castle called Kenwith, from whence the garrison issued out unexpectedly, and made a desperate attack upon the Danes, who, after an obstinate resistance, were put to flight, with the loss of their spoils, and twelve hundred men, who were left dead on the field †. Some authors affirm, that it was in this battle that Hubba fell, who was the brother of Hingar, both of them the sons of Lothbroc; and that amongst the spoils taken by the Saxons was the Danish standard, called Reafen, from the figure of a raven which was embroidered upon it, and said to be the performance of the three daughters of Lothbroc ‡.

Ælfred quits his confinement.

As this defeat damped the courage of the Danes, so it revived the hopes of liberty in the breasts of the Saxons; and Ælfred their king, joined by some few warriors who had discovered his retreat, built a small fortress in the isle of Etheling in Somersetshire, where they defended themselves, and frequently sallied out on the enemy. The people of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, now receiving information that their king was living, gathered themselves together, and being joined by a great number of those who had fled, in the beginning of the year, into foreign parts, and now were returned, they proceeded to Selwood, and at a place called Ecgbryhtstone, were met by their king, whom they received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and as one risen from the dead §.

* Asser. &c. ut sup.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Alured Rivalen, &c.
§ Asser. Chron. Sax. &c.

Ælfred

Ælfred, placing himſelf at the head of this army, marched to Ethendune, where he met with the Danes, and gave them battle; and, after a very bloody encounter, obtained a complete victory. The remnant of the Danes that eſcaped the purſuit of Ælfred, fled to a caſtle which they had built not far from the place where the battle was fought, and fortified themſelves there; but Ælfred ſoon reached the caſtle, and laid cloſe ſiege thereto; ſo that after fourteen days had elapſed, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance, and diſtreſſed for the want of proviſions, they ſued for peace in a moſt humble manner, offering pledges, which were accepted by Ælfred, and they again took oath to moleſt the Engliſh no more *.

The Danes overcome at Ethendune.

At the ſame time Godrun, the Daniſh king of the Eaſt Angles, forſook his idolatrous worſhip, and, of his own accord, embraced the Chriſtian religion, being baptized by the name of Æthelſtane, at a place called Alre, not far from Ethelingſey in Somerſetſhire. King Ælfred, who was preſent at the ceremony, became ſponſor for him, and there confirmed, by free gift, his title to the crown of the Eaſt Angles †; alſo thirty of the chief Daniſh nobility received baptiſm at the ſame time with Godrun, and were honoured with peculiar marks of eſteem by Ælfred and his followers.

Godrun becomes a Chriſtian.

After the concluſion of the above peace, the Danes left Chipenham, retired peaceably to Cyrenceſter ‡, and remained one year without making the leaſt infringement on their covenant. The ſame year another large party of the Danes landed in England, and paſſing through the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, came quietly to Fullenham §, upon the borders of the Thames, where they paſſed the winter peaceably ‖.

A. D. 879.

The Danes retire, and keep peaceable.

This year the Danes, who wintered at Cyrenceſter, left that city, and returned into the province of the Eaſt Angles, which had been allotted to them. Upon their return they took poſſeſſion of all the lands, which they portioned out among themſelves, and there eſtabliſhed their reſidence. In the mean time, thoſe Danes who arrived the year before, and had wintered at Fullenham, ſeeing, perhaps, that from the preſent poſture of affairs, there remained little hopes of their

A. D. 880.

The Danes ſettle in the province of the Eaſt Angles.

* Ibid. & Sim. Dunelm.

† The bounds of Godrun's dominions, according to this gift, are to be ſeen at the end of the laws of Ælfred, where the covenant between thoſe two princes is ſtill preſerved as follows:

" Æreſt ymb ure landgemera
" up on Temeſe, ⁊ þonne up
" on Lygan, ⁊ and lang lygan
" oð hine æþylm þonne on ge-
" nihte to Bedanfeþda ðonne
" upon Uran cð Wætlinga-
" ſtræet."

Let the bounds of our dominion ſtretch from the river Thames, and from thence to the water-Lea, even to the head thereof, and ſo forth ſtraight to Bedford, from thence along the river Ouſe, and let them end at Watling-ſtreet. Fœdus Aluredi, cap. 1.

‡ Chicheſter.

§ Fulham.

‖ Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

obtaining

obtaining any conſiderable plunder by their ſtay, left the kingdom, and went into France *. Whilſt theſe motions were making by the Danes, Ælfred employed this interval of peace in reſtoring good diſcipline among his troops, and in re-building or repairing ſuch places of ſtrength as had been deſtroyed during the late war, and which were neceſſary for the defence of his territories.

A. D. 882. Four Daniſh ſhips taken. The two following years, among other uſeful regulations made by Ælfred, one of the moſt important was, that of increaſing his naval force, which he employed in guarding his coaſts. The prudence of this ſtep was ſoon evinced by the ſucceſs which attended its execution; for in the year 882, as he was cruiſing from place to place, he met with four Daniſh ſhips making towards the land, and coming up with them, engaged them, when, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he took two of their ſhips, the crews of which he put to death by the ſword, or threw into the ſea. He then purſued the other two, which were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to eſcape; but they were ſo cloſely followed by Ælfred's fleet, that they were alſo taken, and on board of them, amongſt other noblemen, were two Daniſh princes †; whether thoſe taken in the two laſt ſhips were put to death like thoſe in the former, does not appear; however, it is likely that they were not, and, perhaps, the reaſon why thoſe firſt taken were treated ſo ſeverely, might be becauſe they would have impeded the purſuit of the other two.

A. D. 885. The Danes beaten at Rocheſter. During two years after this engagement, the Saxons enjoyed a profound peace, ſuffering no inconvenience whatever from the Danes who were ſettled within the kingdom, nor from thoſe who were ſo frequently making excurſions from their own country, and infeſting the Britiſh ſeas. The Saxon fleet was ſtationed the firſt year near the river Scald, and the ſecond, they were removed to Sunnan; but the ſummer following, the year 885, a large fleet of Daniſh ſhips, which were now returning from the coaſts of France, entered the Thames mouth, and ſailed up the river Medway to Rocheſter, which city they cloſely beſieged; but the citizens made a noble reſiſtance. At the ſame time king Ælfred hearing of their danger, haſted to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, and, coming ſuddenly upon the Danes, he put them to flight with great ſlaughter; ſo precipitate was their retreat to their ſhips, that they left behind them, in their entrenchments, all their horſes, as well as many captives, and much ſpoil, which they had taken upon the coaſts of France, and brought thither with them. As ſoon as they had gained their ſhips, they crowded all the ſail they could, and returned with heavy hearts to France ‡.

Two ſea fights. The ſame year Ælfred ſent a fleet of ſhips to ſcour the ſea coaſt towards the borders of the Eaſt Angles, and, at the mouth of the Stour,

* Ibid, &c. † Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c. ‡ Ibid, ibid. &c.

they

they met with ſixteen Daniſh ſhips, which they attacked, and after a ſmart engagement, took the whole fleet, and put the crews to death. As they were returning home triumphant, they met with another part of the Daniſh fleet, whom they alſo attacked; but, after a bloody battle, the Danes obtained the conqueſt, and the Engliſh ſhips were put to flight with conſiderable loſs.—Towards the end of this year, the Danes who inhabited the province of the Eaſt Angles, and who had hitherto continued quiet, began to make ſome diſturbance, and violate the peace they had ſworn to; but, by ſome means or other, they ſeem to have been pacified, for it does not appear that hoſtilities were long continued, or even carried to any great length *.

The city of London repaired.

The year following Ælfred marched his army to London, which had been greatly damaged in the late wars by the Danes, and who, upon his arrival there, retired; and the Londoners, at leaſt as many as had eſcaped, and who had been driven from their houſes, returned joyfully back. Ælfred, having repaired and fortified their city, appointed Æthered, earl of Mercia, to be their governor †.

A. D. 890.

The death of Godrun.

Seven years interval of peace which followed, gave Ælfred a good opportunity of putting his dominions in a better poſture of defence than they had been heretofore, and this opportunity he carefully improved to his advantage. During the courſe of this time, no very material accident ſeems to have happened, except the death of Godrun, or rather Æthelſtan, king of the Eaſt Angles, who died in the year 890, and was buried at the town of Headley in Suffolk, which was a royal town within his own dominions ‡.

The death of Godrun ſeems to have been a matter of conſequence to the Saxons, for he appears to have performed the conditions agreed upon between him and Ælfred as faithfully as the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſubjects would permit; but, at his deceaſe, he was ſucceeded by a Daniſh nobleman named Eohric §, who, perhaps, not thinking himſelf bound by the ſame obligations as his predeceſſor, nor his ſubjects under the ſame reſtrictions, they were always ready to oppreſs the Saxons, which they did by frequent violations of the peace, and by lending aſſiſtance and protection to many of their countrymen, who afterwards infeſted the land.

A. D. 893.

Freſh parties of the Danes land in Kent.

In the year 893, another large fleet of Daniſh ſhips, amounting to 250 ſail, came from the eaſtern parts of France, and arrived in Kent at a river called Lemen, near the great wood of Andred, where they landed, and drew their ſhips four miles from the river's mouth up into the wood, having erected a fortreſs at a place called Apuldor. Scarcely had they ſettled themſelves in Kent before another fleet of eighty

* Chron. Sax. &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Stow Chron.
§ Malmſb. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Daniſh ſhips came alſo into the ſame province, under the conduct of a great chieftain named Hæſten. They entered the mouth of the Thames, and proceeded as far as Middleton, where they alſo built a fortreſs, and continued during the winter *.

A. D. 894. Ælfred marches againſt the Danes.

Ælfred, as ſoon as he was informed of the proceedings of the Danes in Kent, prepared his army to march againſt them; but firſt exacted a freſh oath of fidelity from thoſe Danes who dwelt in Northumberland and the Eaſt Angles, by which they were bound not to aſſiſt their new-come countrymen, nor to protect them from the aſſaults of the Saxons. Matters being thus prepared, and freſh hoſtages taken in the Eaſt Angles, Ælfred marched with his army into Kent, and encamped in ſuch a convenient ſituation between the two armies of the Danes, as to be ready to prevent the progreſs of either, if they ſhould have been inclined to move from their fortreſſes, as well as to ſave the country from being ſpoiled by detachments from either ſide. He ſent out parties of horſe, ſupported by as many as could be ſpared from the caſtles and places of defence, and theſe were always ready to encounter whatever parties of the Danes they might find detached in foraging parties. At other times, Ælfred divided his whole army into two bodies, and marched out one, leaving the other behind in the entrenchment; by this means he checked the progreſs of the Danes, and, in a great meaſure, protected the country from their inſults.

Battle of Aylſford in Kent.

Some time having elapſed in theſe excurſions, Ælfred met with the Daniſh army at Fernham near Alysford in Kent, when a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the Saxons were victorious. The Danes fled precipitately towards the river Thames, which they paſſed over, and entered into Eſſex, making their abode in an iſland called Brekelſey upon the banks of the river Colne, whither they were purſued by Ælfred and his army. In the mean time, a ſtrong party of the Danes who eſcaped the ſlaughter of the laſt engagement, retreated to their fortreſs, carrying with them their king, who was wounded in the battle.—When Ælfred came up with the Danes, who had fled to Eſſex, he beſieged them in their entrenchments, but after continuing there ſome time, he was obliged to retreat, being in want of proviſion †.

The Danes in Northumberland break the peace.

Whilſt Ælfred and his army were thus employed, the Danes, who were ſettled in Northumberland, contrary to their oath of fidelity made to Ælfred, came, with an hundred ſhips, coaſting round the land by the Eaſt Angles, and then proceeded ſouthward as far as Devonſhire, where coming to Exeter, they laid ſiege to that city. Ælfred, when he received this news, had but juſt recruited his army, and furniſhed them with ſufficiency of proviſion, intending to recommence the ſiege of the Daniſh entrenchments in Eſſex; but he now changed his former

* Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

† Chron. Sax. &c.

reſolution,

reſolution, and marched with his army directly towards Exeter, leaving behind him a ſquadron of the Welſh, who went to London *.

The proceedings of Hæſten the Dane.

Hæſten, in the mean time, joined the Danes, who were in Eſſex, and built a ſtrong caſtle at South Beamfleet in that province, where he left a garriſon, and proceeded further up into the heart of the country in ſearch of ſpoils. The ſquadron of the Welſh, who had been left behind by Ælfred, joined by the Londoners, took this opportunity of marching to Beamfleet, where they beſieged the caſtle built by Hæſten, and took it. Here they met with a rich booty which well rewarded them for their trouble, and, amongſt the captives which they took, were the wife and two ſons of Hæſten. After the victors had demoliſhed the caſtle, they burnt all the ſhipping which they found upon the coaſt, and returned to London, well contented with the ſucceſs of their expedition †.

The generoſity of Ælfred.

The wife and ſons of Hæſten, who had been made priſoners by the Londoners, were ſent to Ælfred, who commanded them to be ſet at liberty, and conveyed ſafely again to the Daniſh camp. Hæſten, ſtruck with the generous behaviour of Ælfred, took an oath of friendſhip, and, at the ſame time, ſent hoſtages to him; and Ælfred, in return, either by free gift, or by agreement, paid him a large ſum of money ‡.

Hæſten breaks the peace.

Hæſten, however, ſoon proved the faithleſneſs of his diſpoſition; for while the Saxon army was ſtill buſied at Exeter, he aſſociated himſelf with the Danes, who remained at Apuldore in Kent; and being aſſiſted by thoſe who inhabited the Eaſt Angles, and ſtrong parties from Northumberland, he returned to Beamfleet, and repaired the caſtle which had been deſtroyed by the Londoners. From thence, proceeding to Schoberie, he alſo built a caſtle there, placing ſtrong garriſons within both, and pillaging the country around. From thence he proceeded with his army weſtward, ſpoiling and robbing the country wherever he came §.

The Danes beſieged.

To ſtop this torrent (in the abſence of Ælfred) three of his captains named Æthered, earl of Mercia, Æthelm and Æthelnoth, aided by ſome of the chief miniſters of the king's houſhold, with ſuch forces as they could collect together, came to Bultingaturne upon the banks of the Severn, where the Danes lay entrenched, and blocked up their camp ſo cloſely that they cut off all communication between it and the country. The Danes held out the ſiege for ſeveral weeks, but in the end were driven to the greateſt diſtreſs for the want of proviſions, and had eaten part of their horſes. Seeing there was no hope of any ſuccour, and inevitable death waiting them for want of food if they continued any longer in their entrenchments, they formed the deſperate reſolution of cutting their way through the Saxon camp with their ſwords, or pe-

* Ibid.
† Chron. Sax.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

riſhing in the attempt, rather than ſubmit themſelves to the beſiegers, or await the approaches of a lingering death. They beſides knew, that if they could but once force their way through the entrenchments of their enemies, they might be able to join another party of their own countrymen who lay encamped upon the eaſtern banks of the river. The event was hazardous; but certain deſtruction, which ſeemed to wait them in their preſent ſituation, overbalanced the danger; and they put their deſperate ſcheme in execution with all the vigour that deſpair could enforce. A deſperate engagement enſued, in which the Danes ſuſtained great ſlaughter. However, they obtained their end, though they left the Saxons maſters of the field. Thoſe who eſcaped from the battle made a precipitate retreat, and being joined by thoſe in the other camp, fled into Eſſex; but this victory was not gained by the Saxons without great loſs of blood on their own ſide, for Ordhelm, one of the king's Thaynes, with a great number of his miniſters, and firm friends, fell in the engagement *.

The Danes raiſe another army.

Laf, one of the leaders of thoſe Danes who had been defeated upon the banks of the Severn, with great aſſiduity aſſembled together, before the winter, a large army of his countrymen from the Eaſt Angles and from Northumberland, and came into Eſſex to join his confederates. Before they proceeded upon their expedition, they ſent their wives, their children, and their wealth, into the province of the Eaſt Angles, which they eſteemed a place of ſafety for them. When they had taken this ſtep, they marched day and night towards the weſt, and came to Cheſter, which city they took before the forces of the Saxons could come up with them. After the Saxons had beſieged them two days, they gave over their attempts, and waſted the country round about, driving away all the cattle, leaving them no means of ſupport †.

A. D. 895.

The Danes abandon Cheſter.

The year following the Danes, being no longer able to keep their ſtation for want of proviſions, left the city, and invaded North Wales, where they took great ſpoils, with which they returned, ſome into Northumberland, and ſome to the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, as well as into Eſſex, where they ſeized upon a ſmall iſland called Mereſig, and continued there ſome time. The other party of the Danes, in the mean time, having raiſed the ſiege of Exeter in their return to the Eaſt Angles by ſea, landed upon the coaſts of Suſſex, and began to lay the country waſte round about the city of Ciſſeceaſter, when the inhabitants ſet upon them unexpectedly, and put them to flight. Several hundred of the Danes fell in the encounter, and ſome of their ſhips alſo fell into the hands of the Saxons.—The ſame year thoſe Danes who had ſeized upon Mereſig iſland, reſolving to winter in Eſſex, drew up their ſhips,

* Chron. Sax. &c.

† Chron. Sax.

ſome

ſome into the river Thames, and others into the river Lea, upon the banks of which laſt they built a ſtrong caſtle about twenty miles from London, with a view from thence to aſſault the Londoners, and pillage the country *.

The ſummer following the Londoners, aſſiſted by other forces, aſ- A. D. 896.
ſaulted the caſtle of the Danes which they had erected upon the banks of the river Lea; but their enemies being aware of their approach, had prepared for their defence; and the Saxons met with ſuch a ſharp reception as obliged them to retreat with the loſs of four of their king's captains †. Ælfred, hearing of this misfortune which the Londoners had ſuſtained, haſted to their relief with his army, and encamped near to the city, to prevent the Danes from moleſting the people round about during the time of harveſt. At the ſame time, obſerving the ſituation of the Daniſh fleet, which they had drawn up into the river Lea, he turned the water of that river into other channels, and, by that means, the old bed was left dry, and the ſhips without any water to float them. When the Danes ſaw the alarming effects of Ælfred's policy, they were fearful of continuing any longer in their preſent ſituation, and marched overland to Quatbridge near the Severn, where they built another caſtle, and there ſpent the winter. Mean while their ſhips, which they left behind them in the river Lea, were demoliſhed, and brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and families were yet in ſafety in the province of the Eaſt Angles, where they had left them two years before ‡.

The Danes leave Eſſex.

This year the Danes left Quatbridge, where they had wintered; and A. D. 897.
ſome of them went into Northumberland, others into the province of the Eaſt Angles; the reſt having procured ſhips, ſailed into France in hopes of meeting with greater booties.—The ſame year a heavy peſtilence afflicted the land, of which died not only a prodigious number of the common people, but many noblemen and perſons of the higheſt rank, amongſt whom were Coelmund, earl of Kent, Beorhtulf, earl of Eſſex, and Wulfred, earl of Hampſhire.

A peſtilence in England.

At the ſame time the Danes who inhabited the provinces of Northumberland, and the Eaſt Angles, were continually harraſſing the Saxons; but they were more particularly troubleſome by the frequent robberies they committed in long ſwift ſailing gallies, with which they infeſted the ſouthern ſea ſhore. Their gallies were both longer and lighter than any of the Saxon veſſels, ſo that, when they were purſued, they could eaſily eſcape. To remedy this inconvenience, Ælfred cauſed his ſhipwrights to build him gallies, of his own invention, upon a con-

The robberies of the Danes redreſſed.

* Ibid.

† Henry Huntington reverſes this account, and gives the victory to the Saxons, declaring it was four Daniſh chiefs who were ſlain.

‡ Chron. Sax.

ſtruction

ſtruction different from any that had been made before. They were twice as long as the common ones, and ſome of them carried ſixty oars, and ſome more. Their great advantage was, that they were ſwifter and ſteadier than thoſe uſed either by the Danes or Friſones who infeſted the ſeas *. Nine of theſe new-conſtructed gallies he ſent againſt ſix Daniſh pirates who were lurking about the iſle of Wight, and plundering the towns on the coaſt.—The Saxon gallies found their enemies lying near the ſhore upon the coaſts of Devon. The Danes, as ſoon as they ſaw the approach of the Saxons, put off three of their veſſels to meet them. The other three, being aground, were obliged to keep their ſtation. Six, therefore, of the Saxon gallies went againſt thoſe three of the Danes that were approaching, and the other three proceeded towards the ſhore to attack thoſe which lay there immoveable. A ſharp and bloody engagement enſued between the three Daniſh veſſels which were out at ſea, and the ſix gallies of the Saxons; but in the end, after great carnage on both ſides, the Danes were overcome, and two of their veſſels were taken; the third, indeed, made its eſcape with only five men on board, all the reſt being killed, and returned to the province of the Eaſt Angles. Whilſt this was performing at ſea, the three Saxon gallies that went againſt thoſe of the Danes which lay upon the ſhore, being too ventureſome, ran ſo far aground that it was impoſſible for them to get off again to rejoin their companions. When the Daniſh ſoldiers ſaw this accident, they left their ſhips, and wading through the water, attacked the Saxon gallies with the utmoſt fury; nor could the other ſix gallies of the Saxons give any aſſiſtance to their fellows. From the nature of their ſituation they were, therefore, obliged to defend themſelves with all their power. After a bloody and doubtful conflict, in which the Danes loſt one hundred and twenty men, and the Engliſh forty-two, amongſt whom were ſome of the chief officers, the tide flowed high enough to ſet the gallies afloat. The Danes quickly retired to their veſſels, and put them off to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to eſcape; but the wind being againſt them, and the Saxon gallies very ſwift, they were ſoon overtaken. The engagement was now ſo very unequal (for all the Saxon gallies were at liberty, and ſurrounded the Danes) that conqueſt ſoon declared for the Saxons, who took the Daniſh veſſels, and made priſoners of all who remained alive after the battle. The priſoners were ſent to Wincheſter, where Ælfred then reſided, who commanded them all to be put to death immediately †.

A. D. 900. Ælfred's death. After theſe long ſucceſſions of troubles, Ælfred had ſo well ſecured his dominions that his enemies returned no more to moleſt him during his reign. All the interval, until his death, he employed for the welfare of his ſubjects, and their improvement: he regulated the laws, and paid the ſtricteſt regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice: he ar-

* Chron. Sax.

† Chron. Sax. John Bromton, &c.

duouſly

duouſly ſought the advancement of learning in his dominions, and was a great encourager of religion and piety. He died juſtly lamented by all his ſubjects the twenty-eighth day of February, in the year nine hundred, after a reign of twenty-nine years and ſix months, and in the fifty-firſt year of his age. His body was firſt buried in the cathedral church of St. Peter's in a beautiful monument of porphyry *; from whence it was afterwards removed, by his ſon Edward, into the church of the new monaſtery †.

The character of Ælfred.

Ælfred was tall and handſome, of a graceful and pleaſing carriage, and courteous in his ſpeech; his perſon and accompliſhments were ſuch as made the moſt favourable impreſſion upon the minds of his beholders; his memory was very tenacious, and his diſcourſes were mixed with lively and agreeable expreſſions; his valour and his policy are plainly evinced from his public actions; the firſt by the battles he fought againſt the Danes, and the laſt by the prudent meaſures he adopted to prevent their excurſions. He was alſo, in his youth, very expert in the polite amuſements of hunting and hawking, which at that time were conſidered as the great requiſites in the education of a young nobleman. When he aſcended the throne, that no duties belonging to his high office might be neglected, he divided each day into three parts, in which he regularly went through all buſineſs whether public or private. His great love for learning led him to dedicate as much of his time to ſtudy as the avocations of government would permit; yet even this, in which he took ſo much delight, he turned to the advantage of his ſubjects, which ſeems to have been the grand object of all his actions; for in him the nobles found a prudent governor, the ſoldiers a valiant general, the religious a defender, and the poor and oppreſſed one who was always ready to relieve and protect them—He was neither dejected in adverſity, nor elated in proſperity; he was liberal and temperate, and though frequently oppreſſed with a bodily diſeaſe, he bore his afflictions with all the patience and reſignation of a pious chriſtian.

The wife and iſſue of Ælfred.

The wife of Ælfred was Ælſwitha the daughter of Æthelred (ſirnamed Mucill ‡) earl of the Mercians, who lived near Gainſborough in Lincolnſhire §; her mother was named Eadburg, a lady born of the noble blood of Mercia. She was married in the year 868, and ſurvived her huſband four years, dying in the year 904: ſhe was buried in the monaſtery of nuns which ſhe had founded at Wincheſter ‖. By this lady Ælfred had ſix children, two ſons and four daughters ¶.

* Aſſer. in vit. Ælfredi.

† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 4.

‡ That is *great*, thus explained in the margin to Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi "Mucill eo quod erat corpore magnus."

§ Gainorum comitis, Aſſer. in vit. Ælfredi.

‖ S. Dunelm.

¶ J. Redbourne.

Edward,

Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 871, and, upon his father's deceaſe, ſucceeded him in the royal dignity.

Ethelwerd, his ſecond ſon, was born in the year 880, and was, by his father's appointment, educated at the univerſity of Oxford, as well for his own improvement, as for an example for the nobility to follow, in bringing up their children to learning and a knowledge of the polite arts.—The education which was beſtowed upon Ethelwerd was not loſt, for he became a man of erudition, and a great philoſopher. His father, by his laſt will, bequeathed to him the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Southampton, which he governed with great juſtice and wiſdom. He died the 16th of October, in the year 922, aged forty-two, and was buried at Wincheſter.

Ælfleda, his eldeſt daughter, was married to Æthered, earl of Mercia, to whom, in conſideration of that marriage, the government of Mercia was committed.

Æthelſwitha, his ſecond daughter, was married to Baldwin the ſecond, ſirnamed the Bald, Earl of Flanders.

Efledam and Elfgivam, the two youngeſt daughters, were never married, but paſſed their days in the cloyſters. The latter of theſe was, by her father's appointment, placed in the monaſtery of Shaftſbury in the county of Dorſet, founded by him, where ſhe became the abbeſs, and there died, and was buried.

EDWARD

EDWARD, *ſirnamed The* ELDER.

The Seventh Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ON the deceaſe of Ælfred, his eldeſt ſon, Edward, was choſen by the Weſt Saxons to ſucceed him in the throne, to which he was advanced the ſame year, and crowned, with great pomp, at Kingſton upon Thames. A. D. 900. Edward ſucceeds his father

Soon after the coronation of Edward, Æthelwald, an ambitious young nobleman, laid a claim to the crown of Weſſex, and, being aſſiſted by a ſtrong party of diſcontents, broke out into open rebellion, and ſeized upon the town of Winbourne, near Bath, which he made his place of reſidence.—This young man, it ſeems, was ſon to Æthelbryht, the ſecond ſon of Æthelwulf, and brother to Ælfred; ſo that king Edward was his firſt couſin. He was too young, upon the deceaſe of his father, to take the charge of the government, and was afterwards withheld by his uncles *; however, by aſſerting his claim at this time, he proved a dangerous enemy to his couſin Edward. Being lodged with his party at Winbourne, he declared to them, that he was reſolved to defend himſelf there againſt the aſſaults of Edward, or die in the attempt.—Edward, in the mean time, hearing of this rebellion, marched with his army towards Winbourne, and arriving at Banbury, in the neighbourhood of Winbourne, he encamped before the city. A. D. 901. The rebellion of Æthelwald.

Æthelwald, fearful of the event, notwithſtanding his former boaſtings, ſtole out privately by night, and fled into Northumberland, where he joined the Daniſh army, which lay encamped on that ſide of the Humber. After the departure of Æthelwald, the city of Winbourne was ſurrendered up to Edward, who entering in amongſt other perſons, found the wife of Æthelwald, a woman whom he had forced from a convent (where ſhe had taken the veil) and married, contrary to the ſtrict commands of the church; but ſhe was reſtored to her former ſituation, by the command of Edward. As ſoon as the flight of Æthelwald leaves his army

* This is the moſt general and moſt probable account of Æthelwald; ſome authors indeed have affirmed that he was couſin german, and others that he was brother to Edward. The latter of theſe is by no means likely.

Æthelwald was made known to the king, he ſent out a party of his troops in purſuit of him, but all their endeavours to take him proved unſucceſsful.*

A. D. 905. Æthelwald protected by the Danes.

Æthelwald, after he had joined the Daniſh army, made known to them the occaſion of his flight from England, and the claim which he had to the crown of Weſſex. They received him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip, and promiſed him to eſpouſe his cauſe, no doubt being glad of ſuch a plauſible pretext for the violation of the peace which yet exiſted between them and the Saxons; moreover, they might expect that, whilſt the claim of Æthelwald was ſupported, a diviſion might thereby be made in the Saxon ſtate in favour of him, which could not fail of terminating to their advantage†.—Three years after they went, under his conduct, into the Eaſt Angles, where they were joined by the Danes who inhabited that kingdom; and the year following (905) they broke the league of peace, and entered Mercia with their army, pillaging and deſtroying the country as far as Creckland, where they paſſed the Thames, and entering Wiltſhire, proceeded to Baſingſtoke; after which they returned back into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, loaden with ſpoils.—Edward, hearing of theſe dangerous proceedings, marched with his army after them, and entering the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, laid the country waſte between the Dyke and the Ouſe, and northward as far as the Fenns; when, being deſirous of returning, he began his march, firſt ſtrictly ordering that his whole army ſhould follow cloſely after him: but the Kentiſh-men, who formed a conſiderable body, for ſome cauſe or other diſobeyed his orders, and ſtaid behind, notwithſtanding ſeven meſſengers were diſpatched to them, from the king, to deſire them to follow immediately.—In the mean time, the Danes, who had watched their opportunity, finding that the king was departed with the greater part of his army, fell upon thoſe who ſtaid behind, and a bloody battle enſued. The Kentiſh-men made a valiant reſiſtance; and though, after great carnage on both ſides, they were obliged to quit the field, yet it was not before they had ſo far reduced the power of the Danes, that they had but little cauſe to boaſt of the victory. Beſides the great number of common men the Saxons loſt in this battle, the two earls Sigewulf and Sigelm, Eadwold, one of the king's miniſters, Cenwulf an abbot, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were found among the ſlain.—On the ſide of the Danes, were killed Eohric, king of the Eaſt Angles, who had ſucceeded Godrun in the

* Bromton, &c.

† Some authors have affirmed that the Danes, to give the greater conſequence to Æthelwald, inveſted him with the title and authority of a king. Chron. Urivallenſis. Monaſt.

year

year 890, and Æthelwald, the ſeditious author of the war, as alſo ſeveral noble men, and a prodigious number of private ſoldiers.*

What ſteps were taken immediately after this important battle, either by Edward or the Danes, do not appear; the latter, however, ſeem to have ſuffered ſo ſeverely by this dear-bought victory, that they were not deſirous of renewing the war; and the Saxons, on the other hand, were no leſs inclined to peace. Accordingly, two years after, a peace was concluded between the Danes, as well in Northumberland as in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and the Saxons, which was ratified by king Edward and his nobles.† A. D. 907. Peace concluded.

This truce continued three years unviolated, at which period the war was again renewed; but what provocation was given, or to which party the infringement of the treaty was owing, is not recorded. However, at this time king Edward cauſed a powerful army to be raiſed in Weſſex and Mercia, which he ſent beyond the Humber, againſt the Danes who reſided in Northumberland. The Saxon forces entered Northumberland with fire and ſword, and after ſtaying there five weeks, during which time they made prodigious ſlaughter amongſt the Danes, they returned home, laden with the ſpoils of their enemies.‡ A. D. 910. The Danes in Northumberland ſlain.

The following year, the Danes, rejecting all offers of peace, entered Mercia, and retaliated the injuries which they had received; but being met by a ſtrong party of the Saxons, at Tetnal in Staffordſhire §, they were overthrown in a ſet battle. In the mean time king Edward was in Kent, and had collected about an hundred ſail of ſhips, and was met by others which had been cruiſing upon the ſouthern coaſts. The Danes (hearing how Edward was employed, and imagining the greateſt part of his army was ſent on board the veſſels) collected all the forces they could, and advancing beyond the Severn into Weſſex, plundered every part of the country they paſſed through. The king, hearing of their proceedings, marched againſt them with all expedition, and came up with them, unexpectedly, at a place called Wodensfield, in Staffordſhire ‖, as they were returning home: a bloody battle enſued, in which the Danes, after a deſperate reſiſtance, were totally overcome, with the loſs of ſome thouſands of their army, A. D. 911. The Danes invade Mercia, &c. and their ſucceſs.

* Chron. Sax. &c.

† S. Dunelm ſays, "Rex Edwardus, "neceſſitate compulſus, pacem firmavit "cum Orientalibus Anglis & Northan-"hymborum," &c.

‡ Chron. Sax.

§ Forent. Bromton, &c.

‖ Others ſay this action happened at Cantbrig, in Glouſterſhire; vid. Milton's Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 253.—"Wodensfield "(ſays Stow) is a mile north from Wolfrune "Hampton, in Staffordſhire."

together with Ecwils their king, and ſeveral others of their chief noblemen and leaders.

A. D. 912. The deceaſe of Æthered.

This important victory was of great conſequence to Edward, for at the ſame time that it damped the ſpirits of his enemies, it animated his friends, and ſecured him the love of his ſubjects, who looked upon him as their protector. Some time now elapſed in peace, the Danes not daring to renew the war, which time Edward prudently employed in fortifying his dominions, in order to ſecure them from the future attempts of his enemies.—In the year 912 died Æthered, the earl of Mercia, brother-in-law to Edward; and upon his deceaſe, the king took the cities of London and Oxford, with the country adjoining, into his own hands, which had before been committed by his father,* Ælfred, to the keeping of Æthered. The government of the other parts of Mercia, which Æthered had held, was ſtill poſſeſſed by Æthelfled his widow, ſiſter to king Edward, a woman of a courageous and martial ſpirit.†

A. D. 913. Towns built by Edward.

The following year, Edward repaired, or rebuilt, the town of Hertford, upon the river Lea, and leaving a ſufficient number of people to carry on that work, he marched into Eſſex, and continued at Maldon whilſt another town was building at Witham, about ſix miles from thence. Theſe proceedings had ſuch an effect upon the inhabitants round about, many of whom had long been in ſubjection to the Danes. that they yielded themſelves to his protection, which he readily granted them.‡

A. D. 917. The Danes diſcomfited.

Four years more of peace elapſed, in which Edward uſed every endeavour, that art or policy could deviſe, to put the frontiers of his dominions in a better poſture of defence than they had formerly been. But in the year 917, the Danes from Leiceſter and Northampton, having recruited their army, broke the peace, and marched into Oxfordſhire, deſtroying ſeveral towns, and taking great ſpoils; whilſt another party of the Danes, taking the advantage of the inſurrection of their fellows, entered Herefordſhire with the ſame intentions; but the inhabitants of that country united, gave battle to the inſurgents, and beat them back, with the loſs not only of the ſpoils they had taken in Herefordſhire, but alſo of others elſewhere obtained, as well as a prodigious quantity of armour, which, in the confuſion of their flight, they had left behind them.§

The proweſs of Æthelfled.

About the ſame time, Æthelfled, the governeſs of Mercia, ſent a ſtrong army into Wales, where the Mercians made war with great

* Chron. Sax.
† Huntingdon, &c.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Ibid.

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, and took from the Welſh a caſtle belonging to them at Brienammere, near Brecknock, together with a great number of priſoners, amongſt whom was the queen of that country.—Not long after, ſhe led her army to Derby, at that time in poſſeſſion of the Danes, which town ſhe blocked up, and at laſt took by aſſault. For the encouragement of her ſoldiers, ſhe commanded in perſon, and, during the action, was in ſuch danger, that four officers of her body-guard were killed by her ſide; yet would ſhe not deſiſt, but perſiſted in making good the entrance.—This conduct of Æthelfled had ſuch an effect upon the Danes who inhabited Yorkſhire, and the northern environs of Mercia, that many of them voluntarily became her ſubjects, whilſt the greater part of the reſt ſubmitted quietly to her, and entered into ſolemn engagements of peace*.

A. D. 918. A freſh party of the Danes arrive, and their ſucceſs.

The year enſuing, another ſtrong party of the Danes came from their own country to England, and landed at Lidwie, in Devonſhire, from whence they ſailed weſtward round the Land's-End, and entered the river Severn. This army was conducted by two chiefs, named Ochtor and Hroald; they landed upon the Welſh coaſts, where they pillaged the country, and from thence proceeded to the borders of Herefordſhire, as far as Irchenfield, where they took priſoner a biſhop, named Cameleac, and carried him with them to their ſhips. He was afterwards redeemed for the ſum of forty pounds, which king Edward ordered to be paid to the Danes for that purpoſe †.

The Danes overthrown.

While theſe Daniſh forces were buſy in pillaging the borders of Herefordſhire, the people of that county roſe in arms, and being joined by the inhabitants of Glouceſterſhire, they fell upon the Danes, and, after a bloody battle, put them to flight, with the loſs of Hroald, one of their leaders, and the brother of Ochtor. The remnant that eſcaped took refuge in a wood, where, being ſurrounded by the Saxons, they were compelled to give hoſtages, and promiſe to depart immediately.—At the ſame time king Edward, with his army, lay not far off, upon the ſouth of the Severn, in order to ſecure the paſſes in that part of the country, as far as the Avon. By this means the Danes were ſo confined, that they did not dare openly to make any attack upon the Saxon territories; however, they twice ventured, under cover of the night, to land, but were repulſed with ſuch loſs, that their numbers were greatly reduced; therefore, finding no hopes of ſucceeding, they embarked on board their ſhips, and ſailed to an iſland called Bradanrelice, where they were driven to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle periſhed by famine; however, in the Autumn they left the iſland, and taking to their ſhips, went over into Ireland, where they reſided ‡.

* Hen. Hunt. &c. † Chron. Sax. ‡ Ibid.

The

Thurcytel, the Dane, ſubmits to king Edward.

The ſame year king Edward, with his army, went to Buckingham, where he ſtaid one month, and built two caſtles, one on each ſide of the Ouſe; and before he left that place, Thurcytel, a Daniſh chief, with the leaders and principal people inhabiting Bedfordſhire and Northampton, ſubmitted themſelves to him of their own accord, and ſought his protection *.

A. D. 919.

King Edward goes to Bedford

The year following king Edward went with his army into Bedfordſhire, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Bedford, where he ſtaid one month, and at the ſame time cauſed another town to be erected on the ſouth ſide of the Ouſe.

A. D. 920.

Many Danes go to France.

The ſummer following the king went again to Maldon in Eſſex, which town he repaired and fortified. About the ſame time, Thurcytel, the Daniſh chief, having firſt obtained permiſſion of the king, paſſed over into France, with as many of his countrymen as choſe to follow his fortune †.—The prudent meaſures which Edward had purſued for the defence of his kingdoms, had been ſuch, that this chief had but little hopes of making his ſtay in England advantageous to him; which, without doubt, was the cauſe of his leaving it, in ſearch of more proſperous adventures.

A. D. 921.

Danes break the peace, and their ſucceſs.

Early in the following year, king Edward rebuilt the city of Toſeceaſter ‡, in Northamptonſhire; he alſo conſtructed another city not far from it, called Wigingamere.—Theſe proceedings alarming the Danes who inhabited Leiceſter and Northampton, they broke their covenants of peace ſoon after the departure of king Edward, and laid ſiege to Toſeceaſter, aſſaulting it for the ſpace of one whole day; but the inhabitants of the city valiantly defended themſelves, and the people reſiding round about being alarmed, gathered an army together, and haſted to the relief of the beſieged. The Danes therefore, fearful of the event, raiſed the ſiege by night, and retreated: but the beſieged, being now joined by thoſe ſuccours which came to their aſſiſtance, purſued them with great alacrity, and ſurprized them at a place between Burnewuda and Ægleſbyrig §. After a trifling ſkirmiſh, the Danes were entirely routed, and a great number of priſoners, as well as the greateſt part of their cattle and baggage, fell into the hands of the Saxons ‖.

Other Danes break the peace.

About the ſame time the Danes who inhabited Huntingdon (being joined by others from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles) left their

* Chron. Sax.
† Ibid.
‡ Now Towceſter.
§ Birnwood and Ailſbury; vide Milton Hiſt. Eng. fol. 256.
‖ Chron. Sax.---Chron. Marin. Scotus.

former

former ſituation, and went to Temsford, where they built a ſtrong fortification, and began from thence to make excurſions, and annoy the bordering country. Not long after, they began their march to attack the city of Bedford; but the inhabitants of that city, aſſiſted by ſome ſuccours from the places adjoining, ruſhed on the enemy, and put them to flight with conſiderable loſs *.

Soon after the above expedition, a large army of the Danes, from Mercia and the Eaſt Angles, marched to the new-built city of Wigingamere, to which they laid cloſe ſiege for one whole day; but the garriſon within reſiſted their efforts with ſuch vigilance and bravery, that, having no hopes of ſucceſs, they left the city, and retreated, driving away all the cattle which they found in their way.—Theſe proceedings of the Danes enraged the Saxons, who, collecting an army from the different towns which lay round about the Daniſh fortification at Temsford, laid ſiege to that place, and took it by aſſault, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance which was made by the Danes. The Saxons, in this engagement, ſlew the Daniſh king, together with Toglos and Mannan, two earls, and as many more as made reſiſtance; the reſt were taken priſoners, and carried away by the conquerors †. The Danes again overthrown.

The great ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied the attempts of the Saxons againſt their enemies, encouraged the inhabitants of Surrey, of Kent, and part of Eſſex, to unite their forces, and revenge, in ſome ſort, the injuries they had ſuſtained. They accordingly marched into Eſſex, and laid ſiege to the town of Colcheſter, in that county, which was then in poſſeſſion of the Danes. The beſieged made a long and gallant reſiſtance; but at laſt, by the unwearied aſſiduity of the Saxons, it was wan by aſſault, and all that were found therein were put to the ſword. However, many of the Danes, when they found that the town could be no longer held, got away over the walls, and ſo eſcaped from the fury of the Saxons ‡. Colcheſter taken from the Danes.

The town had not been long in the poſſeſſion of the Saxons, before a ſtrong party of the Danes arrived from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles to ſuccour their countrymen, and oblige the Saxons to raiſe the ſiege; who ſeeing they came too late to be of any ſervice, altered their courſe, and, going towards Maldon, beſieged that town; but the Saxon forces from the adjacent places coming time enough to ſuccour the inhabitants, the Danes left the place; but the Saxons purſued them with ſuch alacrity, that they loſt ſeveral thouſand men in their retreat §. The Danes again overcome.

In the mean time the main army, under the conduct of king Edward, marched to Paſham upon the Ouſe, where they remained to guard the country whilſt a ſtone wall was building round the city of Tofeceaſter. The Danes ſubmit to king Edward.

* Chron. Sax.
† Ibid.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Ibid.

Whilſt

Whilſt Edward lay at Paſham, Thurferth, a Daniſh chief, with other lords, and their army, which lay round about the country to the north, as far as Weolud, came to him, and placed themſelves under his protection. From thence he went with another part of his army (many of his forces having been diſmiſſed at their earneſt requeſt) to Huntingdon, which city he repaired, and all the people round about the country returned again to their obedience, and ſought his protection. After this the king went into Eſſex, and repaired the town of Colcheſter—After which all the Danes inhabiting the Eaſt or Weſt Angles, ſubmitted to king Edward; as did the army which lay at Grantbrige, all of them ſwearing allegiance to him both by ſea and by land *.

A. D. 922. The following Summer, king Edward marched his army to Stamford in Lincolnſhire, where he built a ſtrong fortreſs upon the ſouth ſide of the river, and all the inhabitants round about that part of the country came thither, and voluntarily ſubmitted to him †.

King Edward goes to Stamford.

The death of Æthelfled.

During the abode of Edward at Stamford, his ſiſter Æthelfled, governeſs of Mercia, the widow of Æthered, the earl of that province, died at Tamworth in Warwickſhire, and was buried in the monaſtery of St. Peter, in the town of Gloceſter, founded in the life time of her huſband by their joint conſent and aſſiſtance.—This remarkable woman, after the deceaſe of her huſband, not only took upon her the government of Mercia, but alſo greatly aſſiſted her brother in his wars, and contributed not a little to the ſuppreſſion of the Danes. Such of theſe inſurgents as lay round the borders of her dominions, ſhe brought under ſubjection, and alſo conquered a part of the Welſh, as hath been already obſerved; and in order the better to ſecure her territories from the aſſaults and encroachments of her enemies, ſhe prudently erected a great number of towns and fortreſſes in the moſt convenient places, which ſhe ſupplied with ſtrong garriſons, and proper ammunition ‡. She left behind her only one child (a daughter) at whoſe birth her pains were ſo violent that ever after ſhe abſented herſelf from her huſband's bed, declaring ſhe would not again expoſe herſelf to the like torture. This daughter did not ſucceed her mother in her government; for after the death of Ethelfled, king Edward took the whole kingdom of Mercia into his own hands §.

* Chron. Sax.

† Ibid.

‡ Amongſt the reſt of her works, the following ſeem to be the chief. She repaired the city of Cheſter; and built the towns of Tamworth, Litchfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewſbury, Finborow, Weddeſbury, Edbury, and Legeceaſter, beſides a vaſt number of caſtles, &c. one of the chief of which was built upon the banks of the river Merſey, called Runcorne; beſides theſe ſhe alſo made a bridge over the Severn.

§ Chron. Sax. &c.

No

No ſooner was Edward poſſeſſed of Mercia, than Howell, Cledauc, and Jeothwel, kings of North Wales, ſubmitted themſelves to him; after which he went with his army to the town of Nottingham, which he repaired and fortified, when all the inhabitants of Mercia, as well Danes as Saxons, came thither and ſwore fealty to him *.

The Mercians, and thoſe of North Wales, ſubmit to king Edward.

King Edward ſupported, with the higheſt degree of prudence, the great ſucceſs that accompanied his expeditions; and the daily increaſe of his glory, ſo far from flattering his pride or vanity, or lulling him into a ſtate of indolence, ſeems to have contributed to make him more aſſiduous in his endeavours to ſecure the peace of his ſubjects, and, with a powerful arm, to maintain the conqueſts he had won.—— About the Autumn of the following year in which he reduced the Mercians, he marched with his army into Cheſhire, where he cauſed a town, called Thelwall, to be built and fortified; and whilſt he abode there, another part of his army was ſent from Mercia into Northumberland, in order to repair and fortify the town of Mancheſter †.

A. D. 923.

The prudence of king Edward.

About the middle of the following Summer, he went again to Nottingham, and built another town oppoſite to it, on the other ſide the river, over which he erected a bridge, in order to facilitate the communication between the town new built and the old one. From Nottingham he marched northward into the Picts land as far as a place called Bedecanwillan, where he alſo cauſed a city to be built, which he ſtrongly fortified; and during his ſtay there, the king of the Scots did homage to him, as did all the Scottiſh nation.—At the ſame time Regwinald and Eadulfes, two Daniſh princes, together with all the inhabitants of Northumberland, whether Saxons or Danes, ſubmitted to him ‡; as did alſo the king of a certain people in thoſe parts called Strækledweala §, with all his ſubjects.

A. D. 924.

Northumberland, and other places, ſubmit to king Edward.

The year following, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years, king Edward died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, at a place called Farington in Berkſhire. His body was conveyed to Wincheſter, and ſo-

A. D. 925.

The death and burial of king Edward.

* Sax. Chron.

† Ibid. &c.

‡ The homage thus done to king Edward was not, ſays Milton, undeſerved; for Buchanan himſelf confeſſes that he, with a ſmall number of men compared to his enemies, overthrew, in a great battle, the whole united power of Scots and Danes, ſlew many of the Scottiſh nobility, and forced Malcomb, whom Conſtantine, the cottiſh king, had made general, to ſave himſelf by flight, ſore wounded—but he ſo far confounds times and actions, as to make this battle the ſame with that fought by Æthelſtan, A. D. 938. Milton, page 259. The Saxon annals make no mention of any battle, nor any other authentic writer.

§ Theſe Camden thinks were part of the North Welſh inhabiting Stratcluid in Denbighſhire; but ſays Milton, in his hiſtory of England, they were rather (perhaps) the Britiſh people of Cumberland.

lemnly buried in the new church there, founded by his father Ælfred, and compleated by himſelf.

The character of king Edward.

This noble prince far exceeded his father in power and extent of dominion; but he was not equal to him in learning. His valour, however, which he frequently exerted in the defence of his country, and the prudence with which he ſecured his conqueſts, made him juſtly amiable to his ſubjects. His diſpoſition ſeems to have been mild and endearing *, and his ambitious views were ſo bounded by moderation, that they always terminated in the welfare of his ſubjects, which ſeems at all times to have been the chief, if not the only object that excited his undertakings. Almoſt the whole iſland of Britain was ſubject to him, and the kings of the ſeveral parts payed him homage, ſo that none of his anceſtors ever extended their conqueſts ſo far, or ſat upon the throne with equal glory.

The concubine of king Edward.

King Edward had but two wives, for Egvina, with whom he firſt cohabited, is ſaid, by hiſtorians in general, to have been his concubine †. She was a lady of mean parentage, but of ſingular beauty, and had been brought up by the woman who nurſed Edward while he was an infant. It one day happened, that, as he was hunting he called upon his nurſe, where he beheld this damſel, and being ſmitten with her charms, took her ſecretly to his bed ‡. Some have thought, and perhaps not unjuſtly, that he was really married to her, but becauſe of her low birth, and that he feared the anger of his father, who was then living, the marriage was kept ſecret. However this may be, he had by her, according to report, two ſons and one daughter.

Æthelſtan §, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom, and he was, by Ælfred his grandfather, made a knight, which ceremony the king performed with his own hands.

* This is ſtrongly evinced (if the anecdote be true) by a quotation from William Mapœus given by Speed: "What time, ſays he, Edward the Elder lay at Auſteline, and Leolin prince of Wales, at Betheſley, intending a parley—Leolin refuſed to come down, or to croſs the Severn; whereupon Edward took boat, and entered the river towards him; which, when Leolin ſaw, and knew who he was, he caſt off his rich robe wherewith he was clad, and which he had prepared for that royal aſſembly, and entered the river breaſt high, where, claſping the boat, with a ſubmiſſive embrace, he ſaid—'Moſt ſage king, thy humility 'hath overcome my inſolence, and thy 'wiſdom hath triumphed over my folly; 'come, ſit upon my neck, which I have '(fool as I am) lifted up againſt thee, ſo 'ſhalt thou enter into that land which 'thine benign mildneſs hath this day made 'thy own.' So after he had taken him upon his ſhoulders, and carried him on ſhore, he would needs have him ſit down upon his royal robe, and ſo putting his hands jointly into his, did him homage. Speed Chron. p. 335."

† Alured Rivalen calls her "Nobiliſſima "Fæmina Egvina."

‡ This ſtory is related by Malmſbury, and other writers. Vid. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6. de Geſtis Reg. Angl.

§ John Pike in vet. MS. Julius D. 6. ſays, that Æthelſtan was the ſon of queen Elfleta, wife of king Edward, and with him the author of the Scala Chronica agrees; and yet afterwards declares that Æthelſtan was a baſtard.

Ælfred,

Ælfred, the younger ſon, is ſaid to have been beloved by his father Edward beyond any of his children, inſomuch that he cauſed him to be crowned in his own life-time, and made him partner with him in the government; but he died ſoon after theſe honours were conferred upon him, and long before the death of his father. He was firſt buried in the monaſtery of Wincheſter, from whence he was afterwards removed to Hyde.

Editha, the daughter, was, in the life-time of her brother Æthelſtan, married to Sithric, the Daniſh king of Northumberland.

The firſt wife of Edward was Elfled, the daughter of a Saxon earl named Ethelhelme, and ſuppoſed to have been a man of great repute in the court of Ælfred, being ſent ambaſſador from that prince to Rome. By this lady he had two ſons and ſix daughters. The firſt wife of Edward, and her iſſue.

Elfward, or Ethelward, the eldeſt ſon, who was born in the beginning of his father's reign, was carefully educated and inſtructed in the liberal arts. The promiſing diſpoſition of this young prince led many to expect that he would ſucceed his father in the throne, which appeared very probable; but dying ſuddenly a ſhort time after him, at Oxford, he was carried to Wincheſter, and buried at the ſame place, and at the ſame time, with his father.

Edwine, the younger ſon, came to an unfortunate end, during the reign of his brother Æthelſtan.

Elfleda, the eldeſt daughter, was a nun in the monaſtery of Ramſey, ſituated upon the banks of the river Teſt in Southamptonſhire, where ſhe became abbeſs, and there died, and was buried.

Egvina, the ſecond daughter, was married to Charles the third, ſirnamed the Simple, king of France, by whom ſhe had iſſue, Lewis the third, who was educated at the court of his uncle Æthelſtan; and Gillet, a daughter, afterwards married to Rollo the Norman, who had with her the dukedom of Normandy confirmed upon him. Egvina ſurvived her huſband, and was afterwards married to Herbert, earl of Vermandys; but this marriage diſpleaſed the nobility, and alſo ſo much diſguſted Lewis, her ſon, that he purſued her on her journey to meet her huſband, and brought her back.

Ethelhild, the third daughter, took upon her the vow of virginity, and became a nun in the monaſtery of Wilton in the county of Wilts.

Eldelhild, the fourth daughter, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, and conſtable of France, in the year 926, and died before her huſband without any iſſue.

Edgith, the fifth daughter, was married to Otho, ſon of Henry, emperor of Saxony. She died before her huſband at the city of Quedlingburgh in Saxony, the 27th of Auguſt, 947, and was buried in a chapel in the ſame city which herſelf had built.

Elgiva, the ſixth and laſt daughter, was, with her ſiſter, Edgith, ſent into Saxony, where ſhe was honourably entertained at the court of the emperor Henry, and was, after the marriage of her ſiſter to Otho,

the emperor's ſon, herſelf married to an Italian nobleman, whoſe name is not recorded.

The ſecond wife of king Edward, and his iſſue by her.

The ſecond wife of king Edward was named Edgiva, the daughter of a Kentiſh earl named Sigeline. She was married to him in the year 916, being the ſixteenth of his reign, and ſhe out-lived him nearly forty years. By this lady he had two ſons, and two daughters.

Edmund, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 921, and after the deceaſe of his father, was educated under the immediate tuition of his mother. He ſucceeded his half brother Æthelſtan in the kingdom.

Edred, the youngeſt ſon, was born in the year 923, being alſo educated under the inſpection of his mother, and upon the death of his brother Edmund, he mounted the throne of Weſſex.

Eadburg, the eldeſt daughter was, in her infancy, ſent by her father to a monaſtery in Wiltſhire, where ſhe became a nun, and was famous for her piety. In the ſame monaſtery ſhe died, and was buried. It is reported of this maiden, that her father made trial of her inclinations in the following extraordinary manner:—He cauſed to be ſet before her the richeſt dreſſes, with trinkets and jewels, and every requiſite to adorn the perſon in the moſt ſumptuous and attracting manner. He then ſhewed her the New Teſtament, with ſome other religious books, and bid her chuſe whether ſhe would rather have thoſe fine ornaments, or the books. Though yet an infant, without any heſitation, ſhe choſe the books. This circumſtance ſo highly delighted her father (who thought that the will of heaven concerning the child was thereby declared) that he caught her up in his arms in an extaſy of joy, and kiſſed her, ſaying, "Go, in the name of God, whi-"ther he hath been pleaſed to call thee."—And accordingly he ſent her inſtantly to the religious houſe.

Edgiva, the ſecond and laſt daughter, is ſaid to have been married to Lewis prince of Acquitain.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELSTAN.

The Eighth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

THE ſudden death of Elſward, the elder ſon of Elfleda, firſt wife of king Edward (who died ſo ſoon after his father as to be buried with him) cauſed an immediate alteration in the affairs of the ſtate; for, as he was greatly beloved by the people, it was generally ſuppoſed that he would have ſucceeded his father. Edwine, the other ſon of king Edward by Elfleda, was too young to take upon him the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom; and the two ſons by his laſt wife, Edgiva, were as yet but infants. Æthelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, (reported to be illegitimate) was therefore advanced to the throne *, but not without a powerful oppoſition, which was formed againſt him in favour (as is ſuppoſed) of young Edwine.—The chief promoter of this ſedition was a nobleman named Ælfred, who, with his accomplices, had determined to ſeize upon him whilſt he abode at Wincheſter, and put out his eyes; but the plot being accidentally diſcovered to the friends of Æthelſtan, he eſcaped their malice, and Ælfred, the principal conſpirator, was taken into cuſtody: but he poſitively denying his being concerned in any deſign againſt the prince, was, by his command, ſent to Rome, that he might clear himſelf from the accuſation by a ſolemn oath, which, on his arrival there, he took before the altar of Saint Peter, in the preſence of pope John the Tenth. This oath was no ſooner taken by Ælfred, than he fell down in ſtrong convulſions, and being carried out of the church by his own ſervants, expired three days after, when the pope refuſed to permit him to be buried, until he had received permiſſion to do it from Æthelſtan †. A. D. 925. Treaſon of Ælfred diſcovered

In the mean time Æthelſtan, having thus eſcaped the ſnare which his enemies had laid for him, was, by his friends, conveyed to Kingſton upon Thames, where he was crowned king, by Athelmus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon a high ſtage erected for that purpoſe in the The coronation of Æthelſtan.

* According to Malmſbury, king Edward, by his laſt will, declared that Æthelſtan ſhould inherit the kingdom after him. ---Malmſ. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 6.

† Malmſb. ut ſup.

market-

market-place, that he might be the better ſeen by the multitude, who expreſſed great joy and ſatisfaction at his advancement. The ceremonies attending his coronation are ſaid to have been conducted with much more pomp and ſolemnity than had been uſed before for any one of his anceſtors *.—He began his reign in the year 925, the ſame in which his father deceaſed.

A. D. 926. The Danes in Northumberland break the peace.

Not long after the coronation of Æthelſtan, the Danes who reſided in Northumberland began to make freſh diſturbances, and ſome of them, under the conduct of a chieftain (who bore the title of a king) named Reginald, beſieged the city of York, and took it. In the mean time another Daniſh chief, named Sithric, murdered his brother Nigell, and uſurping the dominion over the Northumbers, went with an army into Cheſhire, and took Davenport, by force, from the Saxons.—What were the ſteps taken by Æthelſtan and his ſubjects, in order to revenge this breach of peace, is not recorded; however, not long after, a peace was concluded between the Danes and the Saxons, and Editha, the ſiſter of Æthelſtan, was given in marriage to Sithric, who, as ſome report, upon that occaſion embraced the Chriſtian faith †.

A. D. 927. The two ſons of Sithric defeated.

The year following the above marriage, Sithric died; and his two ſons, Anlaf and Godfert (who were greatly offended at their father's renouncing his religion, which they imagined was done chiefly by the inſtigations of his wife) in order to revenge themſelves, having perſuaded the Northumbers to join them, they began hoſtilities in the north, and proceeded to open rebellion. Editha, Sithric's widowed queen, immediately after the death of her huſband, returned to her brother, and being deſirous of ſpending the remainder of her days in religious exerciſes, ſhe obtained of her brother, by gift, a portion of ground at Tamworth in Warwickſhire, where ſhe built a monaſtery for nuns, and reſided therein till her death ‡.—In the mean time Æthelſtan, as ſoon as he received information of the death of Sithric, and of the mutiny of his two ſons, marched with his army into Northumberland, where proving victorious, the rebellious parties were diſperſed, and Anlaf fled into Ireland, whilſt his brother Godfert took refuge in Scotland §.

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.

† S. Dunelm---Chron. Urivallenſis.---Chron. Lindisforn, &c.

‡ The Scottiſh writers call this lady Beatrice, and fable of her, that ſhe cauſed her huſband to be poiſoned, for which offence ſhe was taken by the two ſons of Sithric, and put to a cruel death; in revenge of which, war was by the Saxons commenced againſt them. But all this is an idle tale, taken from Hector Boetius.

§ S. Dunelm, &c.

After

After this defeat, the Northumbers were reduced to obedience, and ſome time elapſed in peace; ſo that Æthelſtan had leiſure to attend to his affairs at home, where the praiſes which were daily beſtowed upon his brother Edwine excited his jealouſy. This prince, who was now advancing towards manhood, was of ſuch an amiable diſpoſition, that he was highly beloved by the people in general. This alarmed the jealouſy of Æthelſtan, who, fearing perhaps that his brother might hereafter ſet up his claim againſt him, conſidered his ſeat on the throne as precarious, till ſome means were deviſed of removing Edwine from any attempts of that kind; and therefore he formed the deſign of deſtroying the hapleſs prince*

A. D. 932.

The death of Æthelſtan's brother.

Seven years after the defeat of the two ſons of Sithric, Æthelſtan commenced war againſt the Scots; and the reaſon aſſigned for this undertaking was, that Conſtantine, the Scottiſh king, had openly received and protected the ſeditious Godfert, his enemy, and refuſed to deliver him up. He therefore, with a powerful army, and a large fleet of ſhips, attacked Scotland both by ſea and land, and laid the country waſte. His army, upon the land, proceeded as far as Dunfeoder and Watermore, and his fleet, by ſea, as far as Caithneſs.—Conſtantine, ſeeing the alarming turn which his affairs had taken, was reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to Æthelſtan, which Godfert being informed of, he made his eſcape from Scotland; and Conſtantine, joined by Eugenius, king of Cumberland, met Æthelſtan at a place called Dacor, in that province, where they ſubmitted themſelves, and did him homage, offering him their crowns, which he reſtored to them.

A. D. 934.

The kings of Scotland and Cumberland do homage to Æthelſtan.

* The common ſtory is, that this young prince was, by his brother's command, put into a little boat, without any tackle, accompanied by only one perſon, and in this condition ſent out to ſea. The prince, ſeeing no hopes of gaining the ſhore, in a fit of deſpair, caſt himſelf overboard, and was drowned; but the attendant, being endued with more patience, making uſe of his hands (Malmſbury ſays his *feet*) by way of oars, at laſt regained the ſhore, and ſo ſaved his life. In the mean time the dead body of the prince being caſt aſhore upon the coaſt of Flanders, was taken up by Adulfe, earl of Boloine, his couſin german, and (being known) was by him honourably interred.---However, ſome authors have endeavoured to make it appear that Æthelſtan was quite innocent of the death of his brother, and particularly Milton; "for" (ſays he) "this very ſtory Malmſbury" (the moſt authentic author by whom it is mentioned) "confeſſes to be ſung in old ſongs, not "read in warrantable authors; and Hun"tingdon ſpeaks as of a ſad accident to "Æthelſtan, that he loſt his brother Ed"wine by ſea, for the more credible is, "that Æthelſtan, as is written by all, "tenderly loved and bred up the reſt of his "brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe "to be jealous." Milt. p. 263.---However this may be, Æthelſtan ſeemed to have lamented ſorely his brother's death, and alſo ſent great preſents to Adulf, for the honourable interment which he had given to the dead body. Vide W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.

Conſtantine,

A. D. 938. The battle of Brunanburh.

Conſtantine, however, notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion to Æthelſtan, was highly exaſperated at his invaſion of Scotland, and, with a view of revenging the injuries he had ſuſtained, he invited Anlaf*, the other ſon of Sithric, who had taken refuge in Ireland, to come to his aſſiſtance. This invitation he chearfully accepted, and, with 615 ſhips, came over to his aid. Conſtantine alſo perſuaded the king of Cumberland to join him: ſo that, with the whole power of Scotland, and the aſſiſtance of thoſe from Cumberland and Ireland, he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to throw off the maſk of peace, and recommence hoſtilities againſt the Saxons. Accordingly, about four years after the commencement of the peace, which had been ſigned between Æthelſtan and him, he and his confederates entered the Humber with their fleet, and began to deſtroy the neighbouring country.—Æthelſtan in the mean time was not idle; for, on the firſt account of his enemies having taken the field againſt him, he aſſembled his army, and, in company with his brother Edmund, marched to oppoſe them. Both armies met at a place called Brunanburh, where was fought the bloodieſt battle that had been recorded in the preceding annals of England; for it was ſupported, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from the morning till the evening. Æthelſtan, however, in the end proved victorious, although at the expence of many of his beſt ſoldiers; but on the vanquiſhed ſide, the loſs was prodigious. Five kings were ſlain upon the field of battle, together with ſeven of Anlaf's chief leaders, and Froda, a Norman earl†.—Anlaf, with the ſmall remainder of his troops, fled to their ſhips, and returned to Ireland. As for Conſtantine, according to the report of ſome authors, he was ſlain in the battle‡; but others affirm that he eſcaped§, and was afterwards reſtored to his throne by the clemency of Æthelſtan, who at the ſame time declared, that it was more honourable to make a king than to be one‖.

After the battle of Brunanburh, Æthelſtan marched with his army into North Wales, where he overcame Ludwal, the Welſh king, and conquered the country; but he afterwards reſtored Ludwal to his throne, who did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted to pay him yearly a tribute of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand head of oxen¶, beſides a certain number of hawks and hunting dogs.

* Some ſtile him king of Ireland and the Iſles; vid. Malmſb.

† Thus ſays the Saxon Chronicle; but Malmſbury ſays five kings and twelve leaders.

‡ Chron. Urivallen. Monaſt. S. Dunelm. &c.

§ Chron. Sax.

‖ Malmſb. de Geſt. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 6.

¶ Thus Malmſb.---The Chron. Urivallen. has it, "Quinque millia beſtiarum." The ſame alſo an old French MS. in the Cotton Library, mark'd Galba, E. 3. has it, "V. mille vaches."

Upon

Upon his return home to Weſſex, Æthelſtan expelled the Corniſh Britons from the city of Exeter, and drove them further towards the weſt, making the river Tamar the boundary of his dominions; ſo that his territories were more extenſive than even thoſe of his father Edward had been *.

Three years after the battle of Brunanburh, Æthelſtan died at the town of Gloceſter, the ſeventeenth day of October, A. D. 941, after an honourable reign of ſixteen years, and was buried with all due ceremonies at Malmſbury †.—Æthelſtan was thirty years of age when he came to the crown, and forty-ſix when he died; but it does not appear that he was ever married, or that he left any children behind him ‡. A. D. 941.

The death and burial of Æthelſtan.

Æthelſtan was a man of middling ſtature, extremely well made, of a comely and chearful countenance, and of a graceful carriage: his hair was yellow, which in thoſe days was eſteemed a beautiful ornament §.—The courteous diſpoſition of this prince obtained him the love of his friends and his ſubjects, whilſt his valour and intrepidity in the field made him dreaded by his enemies. In his higheſt proſperity his moderation was admirable, for when he had conquered his foes he forgave them.—His policy and piety are no leſs remarkable; and, if we can but ſuppoſe him innocent of the death of his brother Edwine, his whole character will be without a blemiſh.—In ſhort, ſuch was the glory with which he held the ſcepter of his anceſtors, that ſeveral foreign princes ſought an alliance with him, ſome of them marrying his ſiſters, and others ſending him rich and valuable preſents.

The perſon and character of Æthelſtan.

* The author of the Book of Lindiſforne, quoted by Leland, ſcruples not to ſay, "Ethelſtanus, rex primus omnium "totius Britanniæ, monarchiam obtinuit." Alſo other authors have declared, that he was the firſt ſole monarch of all the iſland of Britain.

† Malmſbury, Chron. T. Redbourn, Bromton, &c.

‡ John Rous and others have ſaid that he had a daughter, named *Leoneat*, married to Reynburne, earl of Warwick, ſon of the great Guy of Warwick; but the whole of this is but a ſuſpected ſtory.---Vide Speed's Chron. page 342.

§ He was, ſays an old French MS. chronicle of England, "Le plus beau "bacheler, ke pout eſtre & mellur de ſun "cors & perſonage, ciſt on Engleterre," &c.---MS. in the Cotton library, marked Galba, E. 3.

EDMUND.

The Ninth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 941. Edmund ſucceeds his brother.

UPON the deceaſe of Æthelſtan, his brother Edmund, then but eighteen years of age, ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned, with great pomp, at Kingſton upon Thames, in the year 941; nor was his youth any objection to his advancement, for his valour had been tried at the battle of Brunanburh, where he commanded under his brother, and obtained a large ſhare in the honour of that ſignal victory.

A. D. 942. The Danes loſe ſeveral cities.

Soon after his coronation, the Danes who were quartered in Mercia began to make ſome diſturbance in that province; but the year following they were ſubdued by Edmund, who took from them the towns of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leiceſter, and Stamford, and brought all Mercia entirely under his ſubjection.—In the mean time a chief, named Anlaf*, came into Northumberland with a powerful army, and, being joined by the Danes who inhabited thoſe parts, marched ſouthward from the city of York, waſting the country and pillaging the people. They extended their march to Northampton, which city they took, and were met by king Edmund and his army at Leiceſter. Here a peace was concluded upon without any blood-ſhed, by the intreaties and management of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, by which it was agreed that Anlaf was to hold all the country to the north of Watling-Street. The ſame year Anlaf received baptiſm, and king Edmund was ſponſor at the font for him. At the ſame time he held Regenolde, another Daniſh king, whilſt the biſhop confirmed him †.

* By all that can be gathered from the different accounts of theſe and the two following years tranſactions, it appears very plain, that this Anlaf could not be the ſame with him that was the ſon of Sithric, who had been ſo troubleſome to Æthelſtan, and who alſo began a new revolt, A. D. 944, and was put to flight by Edmund. Huntingdon declares he was another, and the Saxon Chronicle ſeems to diſtinguiſh them by calling the latter "*Anlaf, ſon of Sithric,*" "Anlaf, Syhtricef runn."—Vide ſub an. 944.

† S. Dunelm, &c.

Anlaf,

Anlaf, king of the Northumbrian Danes, died, as it appears, the year after his baptiſm, and after him, Anlaf, the ſon of Sithric before-mentioned, was received by the Danes as their king. He joined Regenald, the ſon of Guthwurthes, and began a freſh diſturbance in the North, which obliged king Edmund to take the field again. He marched with his army into Northumberland the year following, where he fought with ſuch ſucceſs, that he effectually quelled the diſturbance, and compelled the two ringleaders of the revolt, Anlaf and Regenald, to leave the land*; at the ſame time he took the government of Northumberland into his own hands, and held it without the aſſiſtance of a viceroy †. A. D. 944. Northumberland conquered

The next year king Edmund, aſſiſted by Leolin, king of North Wales, entered Cumberland, which was at this time a kingdom by itſelf, and inhabited by a ſet of people who took every opportunity of plundering the Saxon borders, and thereby occaſioned this expedition of Edmund. The Cumbrian forces were ſoon overthrown, and the whole country was ſubdued by Edmund ‡, who gave it to Malculme, king of Scotland, to hold of him; and Malculme was thereby bound to aſſiſt him in his wars, either by ſea or land.—Having thus prudently ſecured the northern parts of his dominions, from whence the moſt frequent irruptions ſprang, he returned to Weſſex, and there eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſalutary laws for the advantage of his ſubjects §. A. D. 945. Cumberland conquered.

The following year king Edmund was ſlain by a very remarkable accident. As he was ſitting at dinner with his nobles, on Saint Auguſtine's day, at Puclechurch in Gloceſterſhire ‖, he ſaw a thief, named Leof, whom he had condemned to exile, ſitting at the table with the reſt of the gueſts, when, ariſing inſtantly from his ſeat in great anger, he ſeized upon the culprit, and threw him to the ground. Leof, imagining, from this rough uſage, that the king intended to kill him, drew a knife and ſtabbed him in the breaſt, when the king inſtantly expired. The attendants, perceiving that the king was ſlain, preſently ſurrounded the murderer, and killed him, but not till he had wounded ſeveral of thoſe who were the foremoſt to attack him. The body of the king was taken up, and afterwards buried at Glaſtonbury ¶ with all due ſolemnities. He was murdered in the twenty-third year of his A. D. 946. The death of king Edmund.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 944.

† *Subregulus*, as in the old hiſtorians.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſays, that Dunmail, king of Cumberland, fled the kingdom, but his two ſons were taken by Edmund, who cauſed their eyes to be put out.---Mat. Weſt. ſub. an. 946.

§ Theſe laws are yet extant.

‖ An old French MS. chronicle in the Cotton Library, marked Galba, E. 3. and Will. Thorne, make this accident to have happened at *Canterbury*. --- Vide Chron. W. Thorne, cap. 5. ſect. 9.

¶ W. Thorne ſays it was carried to *Wynton* to be buried.---Vide ut ſup.

age, after he had reigned rather better than five years; and his death was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects.

The character of Edmund.

Edmund was a young man of invincible courage, joined with ſingular prudence; his diſpoſition was noble and generous, his behaviour courteous and winning, and all his actions juſt and equitable. Theſe virtues, which ſo evidently diſplayed themſelves in his ſhort reign, cauſed him to be highly revered by his ſubjects, who were thence led to form the greateſt expectations from his future adminiſtration.

The wife and iſſue of king Edmund.

The wife of Edmund was named Elfgifa, to whom he was married in the year 941, and in the firſt of his reign. The parentage of this lady is not recorded; but ſhe ſurvived him many years, leading a life of ſuch exemplary piety, that, after her death, ſhe was honoured with the appellation of ſaint.—By this lady Edmund had two ſons, who were too young immediately to ſucceed him in the throne; but, after the death of their uncle Eadred, they received that honour.

EADRED.

EADRED.

The Tenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

EADWIG and Eadgar, the two ſons of Edmund, being too young to take upon them the charge of the government, Eadred, their uncle, the youngeſt ſon of king Edward, was appointed their protector; but he ſoon afterwards aſſumed to himſelf the regal dignity, and was crowned at Kingſton, the ſeventeenth day of Auguſt, in the year 946, by the hands of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then in the twenty-third year of his age*. A. D. 946. Eadred ſucceeds his brother.

The crown was but juſt placed upon the head of Eadred, when the inhabitants of Northumberland began a dangerous inſurrection, notwithſtanding the covenant which had been made between the late king Edmund and Malculme king of Scotland, by which the latter ſtood engaged to keep them in peace. Eadred, therefore, no ſooner heard of the revolt, than he marched with his army into the north, and having entirely ſubdued the turbulent Northumbrians, he entered Scotland, where he met not with the leaſt reſiſtance; but, on the contrary, was ſhortly after joined by Malculme, who, with all his ſubjects, ſubmitted to him, and took an oath of allegiance. Theſe proceedings ſoon eſtabliſhed a peace, which was confirmed between the Saxons, the Northumbrians, and the Scots.—The commotions thus appeaſed, Eadred returned with his army into Weſſex †. The Northumbrians ſubdued.

No ſooner was Eadred departed, but the Northumbrians, entirely regardleſs of the conditions of the peace which had been concluded between them and the Saxons, ſent preſſing invitations again into Ireland, to Anlaf the ſon of Sithric, which he complied with, and, with a powerful army, entered Northumberland, where he was ſoon choſen king. This title and dignity he held four years ‡ unmoleſted by Eadred, who probably, knowing the changeable diſpoſition of the Northumbrians, waited quietly to ſee what turn the affairs of that kingdom would take, and till a more favourable opportunity might A. D. 947. The Northumbrians break the peace.

* Chron. Sax. S. Dunelm.
† S. Dunelm, &c.
‡ Ibid. et Chron. Lindisforne, et Chron. Urivallen. &c.

offer

offer for him to attack them, when they had weakened themſelves by inteſtine diſcords; which, in fact, ſhortly after was the caſe.

A. D. 951. The difquiets in Northumberland brought to an end.

The Northumbrians, after four years peace, began to be diſſatisfied with the king they themſelves had ſo lately choſen; ſo that forming ſtrong parties againſt him, they at laſt depoſed him, and purſued him with ſuch rigour, that he was obliged once more to quit the kingdom, and take refuge in Ireland, his former aſylum. In the mean time, the rebellious Northumbrians ſet up another chieftain named Eoric to govern them in his ſtead. Whilſt theſe feuds were agitating, Eadred collected his army together, and marched into Northumberland, conſidering this as a very favourable opportunity to reduce them to obedience. The Northumbers hearing of his approach, retreated before him, ſo that he entered the country without meeting any reſiſtance. Enraged at this policy, he proceeded to waſte the kingdom with fire and ſword, in order to provoke them to the field; but when he found that all his endeavours were fruitleſs, though he had deſtroyed many places, and burnt the monaſtery of Rippon to the ground *, he ordered his army to return home. As the ſoldiers were upon their march, which was negligently made, ſome parties ſtraggling here and there (not in the leaſt expecting to meet with any reſiſtance from an enemy who had hitherto fled before them) the rear ward was attacked by the Northumbrians, under the conduct of Eoric their king, who had diligently watched their motions, and kept himſelf ready to fall upon them if he could do it advantageouſly. The Saxons were thus ſurpriſed by the policy of Eoric, and a conſiderable number of them were ſlain before they could gain the main body of the army, or arrange themſelves in proper order. Theſe proceedings ſo highly exaſperated Eadred, that he inſtantly reſolved upon returning into the North, at the ſame time threatening great revenge, which being made known to the Northumbers, and fearing that thoſe threats ſhould be put in execution, they depoſed Eoric their king, and ſlew Amanaus, the ſon of Anlaf, one of their chiefs. They then diſpatched meſſengers to Eadred, with many valuable preſents, at the ſame time declaring their willingneſs to ſubmit themſelves to his government. This method of proceeding had the deſired effect; for Eadred, pleaſed with the gifts which he had received, accepted of their ſubmiſſion, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between both parties.——From this time the whole kingdom of Northumberland ceaſed to be governed by kings of their own, and the management of that ſtate was committed to the care of earls, who were elected for that purpoſe; and Oſulph was, by Eadred's command, the firſt that aſſumed that office †.

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. & Chron. Lindisforme, & Chron. Urivallen, &c.

The

The ſame year Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, was ſuſpected of having countenanced the revolt of the Northumbers *, and was likewiſe accuſed of being acceſſary to the murder of ſome citizens of Thetford in revenge of the death of Adelm an abbot, who had been ſlain in that city ſome time before.—On theſe ſuſpicions, Eadred cauſed him to be committed to priſon; however, not long after the eſtabliſhment of the peace between the Saxons and the Northumbers, he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his former dignity †. The archbiſhop of York impriſoned.

A. D. 955. Eadred, after his return from his ſecond expedition into Northumberland, enjoyed his crown in perfect tranquillity for the ſpace of four years, which he ſpent not idly; for he ſeems to have been anxious for the welfare of his ſubjects, being a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, and an impartial adminiſtrator of juſtice. But falling ſick in the very flower of his youth, he died, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, in the year 955, after a ſhort reign of nine years, and in the thirty-ſecond of his age, when his body was buried in the cathedral church of Wincheſter ‡. The death of Eadred.

Character of Eadred. In valour and in prudence this prince equalled any of his brethren, in piety and religious duties he excelled them; it is true indeed that he was often led by his zeal for religion to give countenance to various idle ſuperſtitions, for he not only ſubmitted to all the decrees of the clergy, but ſuffered even his own body to be chaſtiſed by Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtenbury, who ſtood very high in his favour. His ſteady adherence to juſtice, and the protection which he conſtantly afforded to the diſtreſſed, juſtly entitled him to the eſteem which he enjoyed whilſt living, and the good report that was made of him after his deceaſe.

The iſſue of Eadred. The wife of Eadred is not mentioned in the ancient records; but it appears that he had two ſons, one named Ælfred, and the other Beorthferd, who are only known by their names being annexed to certain charters of their father's §.

* W. Malmſbury.
† S. Dunelm.
‡ J. Redbourne.
§ Theſe charters are yet extant, amongſt various others, in an old MS preſerved in the Cotton Lib. marked Cladius B. vi. After this name is put "fil. regis," which is authority ſufficient.

EADWIG,

EADWIG, or EDWYN.

The eleventh Monarchy of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 955. The coronation of Eadwig.

AFTER the death of Eadred, his nephew Eadwig, the eldeſt ſon of Edmund, ſucceeded to the throne. He was crowned at Kingſton by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 955, being at that time but juſt turned of thirteen years of age. The ancient authors, in general, have accuſed this young prince of great irregularities, and ſcruple not to declare that on the very day of his coronation, he withdrew himſelf from the company of his nobles, in order to wanton privately with a near kinſwoman of his *, who had proſtituted herſelf to him. This proceeding of the king offended the nobility in general, but more eſpecially the clergy, who ſent Dunſtan, the boldeſt man amongſt them, to perſuade the king from the embraces of his favourite. Dunſtan accordingly, with great reſolution, entered the chamber where the king and Ælfgifa (for ſo the lady was named) were ſitting, and after rebuking her very ſeverely, he laid hold of the king's hand, and, by force and perſuaſion, led him back to the banquet.

A. D. 956. Dunſtan baniſhed the kingdom.

However, though the boldneſs which Dunſtan had ſhewn was at that time over-looked, it remained fixed in the memory of Ælfgifa, who never ceaſed to perſuade the king againſt him, till ſhe prevailed on him to conſent to his baniſhment, which the year following ſhe accompliſhed †. The revenge of Ælfgifa ſtopped not here; for ſhe ſuf-

* Here we ſhould note, that Henry Huntingdon mentions this prince in a much more favourable light. The account as here given is from William of Malmſbury, who was likely more ſevere than juſt in the delineation of Eadwig's character; and that becauſe the monaſtery of Malmsbury wherein himſelf was brought up was, by this prince, given to the ſecular prieſts, or as he terms it, "made a ſtable of clerks." Modern authors have villified the character of Eadwig ſtill more by ſaying, that on this day he raviſhed this kinſwoman againſt her will, ſhe being the wife of a nobleman of his realm, and that he afterwards cauſed her husband to be ſlain that he might the more ſecurely enjoy her;—but the ſtory may well be exploded, ſince not mentioned even by his enemy W. Mamsb. Others allowing the account given above, ſay, he cohabited with the mother of the harlot alſo.

† Perhaps the true reaſon of Dunſtan's baniſhment was, becauſe he could not give ſo clear an account of the treaſure, which had been committed to his charge by king Edmund, as could have been expected; but on this head more will be ſaid hereafter in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, part the 2d of this volume.

fered

fered Eadwig to take no repoſe till ſhe had inſpired him with a ſettled hatred for all the monks. The monaſtery where Dunſtan had reſided was ſtripped of all that was valuable, and the monaſtery of Malmſbury was given to the ſecular prieſts *.

A. D. 957. Eadwig loſes great part of his kingdom.

Some time after, Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, pronounced a ſeparation between the king and his favourite Ælfgifa, which he was, at length, obliged to ſubmit to. Notwithſtanding which, the affronts he had put upon the clergy, and the conſtant miſinterpretations that were made of all his actions, alienated the hearts of his ſubjects, but more eſpecially thoſe of Mercia and Northumberland, who openly revolted, and ſet up his brother Eadgar as king over them, though then a youth of only fourteen years of age; ſo that to Eadwig was left only the kingdom of Weſſex, bounded by the river Thames.

A. D. 959. The death, &c. of Eadwig.

Theſe proceedings of his ſubjects, which he could by no means prevent, had ſuch an effect upon the ſpirits of Eadwig, that he pined away with grief, and, about two years after the advancement of his brother, died of a broken heart early in the beginning of the year 959. His body was enterred at Wincheſter in a new abbey called Hyde, erected without the walls of that city.

His character difficult to draw, and why.

It would be to no purpoſe to attempt to delineate the character of this prince, ſince the monks (who are the only hiſtorians of thoſe times) were his profeſſed enemies—therefore all his virtues were undoubtedly obſcured, his good intentions miſinterpreted, and his vices expoſed in the moſt aggravated colours; in ſhort, we may, with ſome juſtice conclude, that he was not really ſo bad as he is repreſented. All that can be added of certainty is, that his perſon was ſo perfectly beautiful, that the epithet of Fair was beſtowed upon him. It does not appear that he left any iſſue behind him †.

* W. Malmsb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 7.

† What became of this lady after the ſeparation is not, I believe, recorded; —— but, notwithſtanding the above account, ſome authors have poſitively aſſerted that ſhe was his lawful wife. Thus Speed, quoting John Capgrave, declares as follows: "Elfgive, his wife, was a lady of "ſingular beauty, nobly deſcended; ſome "ſay rather too near a relation. Her fa-"ther's name is not recorded, but her mo-"ther was called Ethelgive. She has by "ſome been ſcandalized as his concubine, "and the only cauſer of Dunſtan's ba-"niſhment. However, the monks thought "proper to find fault with his marriage, ſo "that an. 3. they forced her to a ſepara-"tion:"—but of all this the authentic authors make no mention; therefore the account muſt ſtand as above, until ſome better authority ſhall be found than the Legends of Capgrave. Vide Speed, Chron. fol. 348.

EADGAR, *firnamed The* PEACEABLE.

The Twelfth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 959. Eadgar ſucceeds his brother.

ON the death of Eadwig, Eadgar his brother, who before ruled all Mercia and Northumberland, ſucceeded to the government of the whole kingdom of England, being at that time only in the ſixteenth year of his age. He no ſooner aſcended the throne than he called Dunſtan out of Flanders (where he had made his abode during the time of his exile) and made him one of his chief counſellors*; his others were Ethelwold, abbot of Glaſtonbury, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, every one of them great favourors of the monks, and profeſſed enemies to the ſecular clergy. By their advice, Eadgar reſtored all thoſe honours to the monks which they had been deprived of by his brother; by which means he ſoon obtained their commendations.

The prudence of Eadgar.

All the time this prince ſat upon the throne, a profound peace continued throughout his dominions, for which reaſon he obtained the ſirname Peaceable; but though he was undiſturbed by any war, yet was he always well prepared to defend his territories from the attempts of his enemies, if their inclinations ſhould lead them to commence hoſtilities; and he not only ſecured the internal parts of his dominion, but alſo prudently took care to guard the ſea coaſts from the attacks of any foreign power; to effect which, he provided a vaſt fleet of ſhips †, which he divided into four ſeveral ſquadrons. Theſe were ſtationed at appointed diſtances from each other, ſailing North, Eaſt, South, and Weſt; and after they had reached the bounds aſſigned them, they returned, and met each other at the place from whence they firſt ſet out. In the Summer time, Eadgar himſelf would uſually ſail with one ſquadron or other, and ſee that their duty was properly attended to ‡.

His juſtice.

During the Winter ſeaſon, Eadgar uſually made the circuit of his kingdom, and viſited all the chief courts of juſtice to ſee that a due

* Malmſbury, &c.

† Hoveden, and others, ſay, this fleet conſiſted of 3600 ſail of ſhips; but Math. of Weſtminſter extends their number to 4800.

‡ W. Malmsbury de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8.

regard



regard was payed to the laws, and that juſtice was equally adminiſtered by the magiſtrates *. Such as he found aſſiduous and careful he rewarded; but, on the contrary, he puniſhed thoſe moſt ſeverely whom he found neglectful or unjuſt; and as he was a conſtant friend and protector to the poor and oppreſſed, ſo was he as ſtrict in bringing to juſtice thoſe who were indolent and diſhoneſt, by which means thieves and vagabonds were almoſt totally ſuppreſſed. Neither would he permit any little ſtraggling alehouſes to be kept within his dominions, juſtly eſteeming them as nurſeries of indolence and vice; but made a ſtrict law, ordaining that only one public houſe ſhould be allowed in any one village or ſmall town, and more only in proportion to the ſize of larger towns or boroughs. In order alſo to ſtop the progreſs of inordinate drinking, which the Engliſh had learned of the Danes, ſuch regulations as were neceſſary were, at the ſame time, ordained †.

The land freed from wolves.

Inſtead of the tribute which Æthelſtan had impoſed upon the Welſh, Eadgar demanded yearly to be ſent to him the ſkins of three hundred wolves; by which means (without any expence to his ſubjects) the whole land was, in the ſpace of little more than two years, cleared from thoſe rapacious animals by which it had formerly been much infeſted ‡.

The effects of Eadgar's prudent adminiſtration.

Thus did Eadgar keep his kingdom in conſtant peace and felicity, and reſtored ſuch good order amongſt his ſubjects that great exceſſes, pilfering, robberies, or murder, or other calamities (the effects of the neglect of juſtice, and the due attention which ought to be paid to the execution of the laws) were ſeldom heard of throughout his dominions; and theſe prudent proceedings not only ſecured him the hearts of his ſubjects, but rendered him terrible to his enemies, and highly conſequential to thoſe who were tributary to him.

A. D. 973.

The coronation of Eadgar.

It may ſeem extraordinary (yet from the beſt authorities it appears to have been true) that Eadgar, notwithſtanding he entered upon the government of the kingdom immediately after the death of his brother, and took upon him the title and dignity of a king, yet he was not crowned until the year 973, being the thirtieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign §, when this ceremony was performed at Bath, with great ſplendour, by Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of all the nobles of the realm ‖.

* Ibid.

† Malmsbury, &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ The only reaſon that can be collected from ancient records for this delay is, that it was enjoined him by way of penance for the faults which he had committed in his amours.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub. an. 973. & Wil. Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 8.—Polydore Vergil confidently affirms, that Eadgar was crowned in the firſt year of his reign before the return of Dunſtan from his exile; but on what authority this opinion is grounded, we are left in the dark.

A. D. 974. Eadgar's pride. Eadgar, the year after his coronation, went to Cheſter, where he ſummoned all the kings, who were tributary to him, to attend him, which they obeyed, and there did him homage. They were eight in number, and their names are recorded as follow: Kunadius king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maccuſſe king of Man and the iſlands *, with Duſwal, Hewal, Giferth, Jacob, and Judethal, all five kings of Wales.—After theſe princes had done him homage, he cauſed every one of them to take an oar, and, entering with them into a boat, was by them rowed upon the river Dee, whilſt himſelf ſat at the helm and ſteered; at the ſame time vain-glorioufly exulting, that his deſcendants might truly ſtile themſelves kings of England, when they enjoyed ſuch honours as were granted to him †.

A. D. 975. The death of Eadgar. The duration of human glory is ſo ſhort and tranſitory, that they who enjoy it, in the greateſt degree, ought not to be vainly oſtentatious, but ſhould ſtill remember, that, while they are boaſting, they may be ſtanding upon the verge of ruin. So was it with the Engliſh, who, during the reign of Eadgar, thought their happineſs compleat; but, after his death, the ſtate fell ſuddenly into decay, when their enemies became conquerors, and triumphed in their turns.—Eadgar was ſnatched away from his people in the very prime of his life and the zenith of his glory. His death happened in the month of July, in the year 975, the thirty-ſecond of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign, when his remains were interred with great pomp at the abbey of Glaſtonbury.

The perſon of Eadgar. Eadgar was a man of ſmall ſtature, and ſlender of body, yet his limbs were very ſtrong and well made, ſo that he was able to contend with men much larger and ſtouter than himſelf, which he would frequently do, deſiring them to exert their utmoſt abilities to overcome him, without paying the leaſt compliment to his dignity ‡.

* Malmſbury ſtiles him "*Archipiratam Maccuſium*"—Lib. 2. cap. 8.

† About the ſame time Eadgar gave many rich preſents to the king of Scotland, particularly the whole country of Louthian, to hold of him, on condition that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould repair to the Engliſh court at high feſtivals, when the king ſat crowned, and gave him alſo many lodging places by the way, which, till the days of Henry the Second, were held by the kings of Scotland.---Milton's Hiſt. p. 276.

‡ The following remarkable ſtory is told of this prince:---That one day, the king of Scotland, while he was ſitting at table at the court of Eadgar, caſt ſome reflection upon his ſmallneſs of ſtature; which being told him again, he called the king of Scotland aſide, and ſhewing him two ſwords, bid him take one, "for (ſays he) we will "now try who ought to be ſubject to the "other;" adding, at the ſame time, that it was a ſhame for a king to boaſt at his table, and ſhrink from the battle. The king of Scotland, aſhamed of what had been ſaid, which he found had been told to Eadgar, fell down at his feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had unwittingly ſpoken, without the leaſt intention of diſparagement to him.---Malmſ. ut ſup.

Eadgar

Eadgar may juſtly be eſteemed a valiant and a political prince. His diſpoſition appears to have been courteous, and his behaviour chearful and agreeable. He was endued with many virtues, and poſſeſſed the chief requiſites of majeſty, as mercy and juſtice; but, on the other hand, his inordinate love of women frequently led him to commit ſuch actions as will always remain as blemiſhes to his character, notwithſtanding ſome authors have attempted to extenuate them.—In religious opinions, he appears to have been bigotted in favour of the Monkiſh clergy, whoſe parts he at all times took againſt the Secular prieſts, whom he has been thought ſometimes to have treated too ſeverely. He is alſo accuſed of being more favourable to foreigners than was conſiſtent with the intereſt or welfare of his own ſubjects *. The character of Eadgar.

Eadgar's firſt wife was named Ethelfleda, a lady ſo fair that ſhe was ſirnamed the White †. She was the daughter of a nobleman named Ordmar (who reſided in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles) and ſaid to have been married to Eadgar in the ſecond year of his reign: it is alſo reported that ſhe died two years after her marriage, A. D. 963.—The moſt authentic authors ‡ have not denied that this lady was the lawful wife of king Eadgar; yet, notwithſtanding this, ſome writers of later times have diſputed this point §, declaring that he violated her chaſtity, and made her his concubine; at the ſame time avowing that the young prince Edward, who appears to be the only child that Eadgar had by her, was illegitimate; they further add, that, for the injury which Eadgar had done to this lady, his coronation (by way of penance) was deferred ſeven years ‖. But ſurely, after all they have ſaid upon this head, they have advanced no argument of authority enough to overturn the repeated affirmations of ſeveral ancient writers, who have poſitively declared themſelves in her favour ¶. The firſt wife of Eadgar.

Edward, the only child that Ethelfleda bore to Eadgar, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom. Iſſue by his firſt wife.

The ſecond wife of Eadgar, was called Elfrida, the daughter of Ordgarus, a duke of Devonſhire. She was a lady of ſuch exquiſite beauty, that her praiſes were frequently repeated at Eadgar's court, and at laſt reached the king's ears (who had not long, it ſeems, been left a widower, by the death of Ethelfleda) and he, being ſtruck with The ſecond wife of Eadgar.

* For, ſays Malmſbury, of the *foreign Saxons* the Engliſh people learned rudeneſs, of the *Flemiſh* daintineſs and ſoftneſs, and of the *Danes* drunkenneſs.

† In Saxon, Hpit, by the Latin authors, *Candidus*.

‡ W. Malmſbury, Rog. Hoveden, Mat. Weſt. Randulf Higden, Henry de Knyghton, &c.

§ John Paris.---Osborn in Vita S. Dunſtani.

‖ Fox in his Book of Martyrs, Speed's Chronicle, &c.

¶ Ranulf. Higd. Mat. Weſt. Hen. de Knyghton, &c.

the

the accounts that he had heard of her, was desirous of examining further into the truth of these reports; he therefore commissioned a certain nobleman of his court, named Ethelwold, to go to her father's house, and contrive some method of seeing the lady, and, if he found her as beautiful as she had been reported to be, he should declare to her father, that the king was desirous to make her his queen.—Ethelwold, thus commissioned by his sovereign, went instantly into Devonshire, and saw the lady; when, being himself smitten with her charms, he entirely neglected the commands of his master, and preferred his own suit to the lady, by whom he was graciously received, and the father consenting, he obtained her in marriage.—In the mean time he returned to the court, and made so cold a report of her beauty to the king, that he quietly dropped all further thoughts concerning her, until some time after the marriage of Ethelwold, when he was informed of his treachery by some of that nobleman's enemies. Eadgar was highly provoked at the unfaithfulness of his servant, but dissembling his resentment, he told him it was his intention to visit him and his bride. Ethelwold accepted of the invitation with all appearance of joy, but hasted home, to be there before the arrival of the king; and having first informed his wife of the deceit which he had practised to obtain her, intreated her to dress herself in the most unbecoming manner she could, as his life depended thereon.—Elfrida, angry that she had thus been deprived of a throne, in order to revenge herself upon her husband, dressed herself with the utmost pomp, and set off all her charms to the greatest advantage. Her art had the desired effect; for Eadgar no sooner beheld her, than he was smitten to the heart by her beauty, and therefore determined to punish the deceit of Ethelwold, which he effected soon after, as he was hunting with the unfortunate nobleman in the forest of Harewood, where he ran him through with a dart *. Soon after the death of Ethelwold, he married Elfleda †, and by her had issue two sons.

Issue by his second wife.

Edmund, the eldest son of Eadgar, by Elfrida, was born in the sixth year of his father's reign, A. D. 965, and died in his infancy, in the year 971, being then but just six years of age. His body was buried, with all due ceremonies, at a monastery of nuns, at Ramsey in Hampshire, which had been founded by his father.

* Malmsbury declares, that a base son of Ethelwold's happened to pass by at the same time, and the king sternly asked him "how he liked that sort of hunting;" to which he submissively answered, "that, if it pleased the king, it might not displease him." His answer so much pleased Eadgar, that he took an affection for him, and advanced him high in his favour, endeavouring by that means to make him amends for the loss of his father.

† Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8. &c. &c.

Ethelred,

Ethelred, the youngeſt ſon of Elfrida, was born in the ſeventh year of his father's reign, A. D. 966. After the murder of his brother Edward, he ſucceeded to the throne.

Eadgar's laſciviouſneſs.

The firſt inſtance of the laſciviouſneſs of Eadgar, was his violating the chaſtity of a virgin, named Wolfhild, whom he took forcibly from a nunnery, where ſhe had been placed to avoid his purſuits; for which fault he was moſt ſeverely reprehended by Dunſtan, and obliged to do a penance of ſeven years, by having his coronation ſo long deferred. And this is moſt likely to have occaſioned that penance, rather than that cauſe before-mentioned, admitting that Ethelfleda had really been the concubine of Eadgar, and not his wife, not only becauſe it is affirmed by the beſt authors *, but becauſe the crime in itſelf would doubtleſs have been eſteemed greater in the violation of Wolfhild than of Ethelfleda; for, in the former caſe, the decrees of the church were trampled upon, which of courſe would make the clergy more outrageous.

His iſſue by Wolfhild.

By Wolfhild, Eadgar had one child, a daughter, named Edgitha, who was afterwards a veiled nun in the monaſtery of Wilton, and, as it ſeems, was made abbeſs there, at fifteen years of age, by her father. She died the fifteenth day of September, in the year 954, aged twenty-three. She was very beautiful, but ſo chaſte and pious, that after her death ſhe obtained the title of ſaint †.

The deceit put upon king Eadgar.

After the death of Ethelfleda, the firſt wife of Eadgar, report was made to him concerning the beauty of a young virgin, the daughter of the duke of Andover. Being taken with the commendations he had heard beſtowed upon her, he went to her father's houſe, where he ſaw her, and being pleaſed with her perſon, demanded that ſhe might be brought to his bed. The mother of the damſel, anxious for the honour of her child, was determined (although at the hazard of her life) by ſome deceit to evade the cruel command, which ſhe dared not openly to reſiſt; for this purpoſe ſhe ſuborned a young female ſervant of her houſhold, and led her in the dark to the king's bed.—In the morning the damſel was haſting to ariſe, when the king detained her, demanding why ſhe hurried from him; to which ſhe replied, that the taſk which her miſtreſs had aſſigned her was great, ſo that ſhe ſhould ſcarcely find time to perform it. The king was amazed at this declaration; but the damſel, kneeling down, informed him, that, at the command of her miſtreſs, ſhe had ſupplied her daughter's place; and beſought him, that, ſince ſhe had been ſo highly honoured as to be advanced to her ſovereign's bed, ſhe might no longer be ſubject to the hard ſervice that her miſtreſs impoſed upon her. The king, though much moved at the deceit which had been put upon him,

* Malmsb. Hoveden, Mat. Weſt. &c. † Ibid, &c.

diſguiſed

diſguiſed his reſentment, and took the damſel home with him, whom he loved tenderly, and continued true to her bed until he married his ſecond wife, Elfreda*. But it does not appear that he had any iſſue during his intercourſe with this woman.

* Malmsb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8. &c.---Thus an old French chronicle informs us, that Eadgar was *geune bacheler home de grant valur e bunte ame de deu e de tut bon gent*; after adding, *Nul ne ſe ſont ne nepout blamer ſi de treys choſes*; *nun del cunte Ethelword*; *edel duc Dondore*; *ede la Moneyne, kil treiſt a force de ſa abbee pur ſa beaute*, &c. which may be thus Engliſhed: "A young man of great valour and goodneſs of heart towards God and all good people. He was only blameable for three things; the one for the earl Ethelwold; the other for the duke of Andover; and the laſt for the Nun, which he took from her abbey for her beauty." Which ſhort account refers to, and confirms, the three particulars above related.---The MS. from whence this is extracted is to be found in the Cotton library, marked Galba, E. 3.

EDWARD,

EDWARD, *ſirnamed The* MARTYR.

The thirteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

NOTWITHSTANDING Eadgar, upon his death bed, had appointed his ſon Edward to ſucceed him in the kingdom, his eyes were no ſooner cloſed than the advancement of Edward was oppoſed by a powerful party, at the head of which was Elfrida, the ſecond wife of Eadgar, who was ambitious of raiſing her own ſon Æthelred to the throne. Amongſt the nobles who ſided with her, the moſt potent was Alferus, earl of Mercia, whoſe intereſt was ſuch, that the claim of Edward would certainly have been rejected had it not been for the artifice of Dunſtan his faſt friend, who, taking the advantage of a meeting which was convened to argue the claim of the two princes, came into the aſſembly arrayed in his official habit, and ſuddenly proclaimed Edward king. This proceeding ſurpriſed the council in general; but as the greater part of them were compoſed of the clergy, the point was carried to the great diſappointment of the oppoſing parties *. A. D. 975. Diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion.

The diſpute being ſettled in this manner by Dunſtan, Edward was permitted to aſcend the throne; and, although he was then but twelve years of age, he was crowned by Dunſtan at Kingſtone in the year 975 †. The coronation of Edward.

During the ſhort reign of this unfortunate prince, his dominions were not diſturbed by any war; but the peace which had continued all his father's life time ſtill exiſted; therefore few or no particulars relative to the civil or military hiſtory of this period can be collected with any degree of certainty. The early part of Edward's reign was ſpent in ſharp debates between the monks and ſecular prieſts, which will neceſſarily form a portion of the ſucceeding part of this work ‡. The peaceable ſtate of the kingdom.

* Malmsb. &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, part 2. of this volume.

A. D. 978. The murder of king Edward.

Elfrida, and her party, who had been diſappointed in their hopes of advancing Æthelred to the throne by the ſudden proceeding of Dunſtan, though they ſmothered the appearance of reſentment, were ſtill no well-wiſhers to Edward, eſpecially the queen herſelf, who relying upon the intereſt of her friends, was plotting his removal, and at laſt effected her bloody purpoſe in the following treacherous manner.—The king, being one day hunting in a foreſt near Corfe Caſtle *, the habitation of his ſtep-mother Elfrida, and deſirous of paying his reſpects to her, left his company following the chaſe, and rode, without attendants, up to the gate of the caſtle. His arrival being ſignified to Elfrida, ſhe came forth to meet him, and, with many flattering compliments, entreated him to alight from his horſe, and enter her dwelling; but he, deſirous of rejoining his company, politely refuſed her requeſt; at the ſame time, aſking for a cup of wine to allay his thirſt, his requeſt was inſtantly granted; but whilſt he was drinking, one of the ſervants of Elfrida, whom ſhe had corrupted, ſtabbed him in the back. The unhappy youth, feeling himſelf wounded, ſpurred his horſe in order to eſcape from his murderer, and rejoin his companions; but he had not rode far before the loſs of blood, which flowed plenteouſly from his wound, rendered him ſo weak that he fell from his horſe; but one of his feet ſtill hanging by the ſtirrup, he was dragged up and down the foreſt for a conſiderable time, and at laſt left dead in the way, whither his body was traced by the tract of blood which flowed from him. His corpſe was at firſt buried, without any funeral pomp, at Warham; but, about three years after, it was removed from thence by Ulferus, earl of Mercia, and, with all due ſolemnities, re-buried at Shafteſbury. Edward was murdered in the year 978, being then only fifteen years of age, after he had reigned three years; and from his receiving ſo unworthy a death, he afterwards obtained the title of Martyr. The murdereſs afterwards, repenting the foulneſs of her crime, ſpent the reſidue of her days in ſorrow and penance †.

The outlines of the character of Edward.

Edward was of a modeſt diſpoſition, and endowed with ſuch a ſweetneſs of temper, that he was juſtly admired, even by his enemies. His piety, and other virtues alſo, were ſo conſpicuous, that people, in general, had formed great expectations from his government when he ſhould have arrived at fit age to take it wholly upon himſelf. Such are the mere outlines of the character of this prince, whoſe death was generally lamented. He had no wife, nor iſſue to ſucceed him.

* Called Corveſgate in the ancient authors, and ſituated, ſays Camden, in the iſle of Purbeck.

† W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 9. & alib.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELRED, *ſirnamed The* UNREADY.

The Fourteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

AFTER the murder of young Edward, Æthelred, the ſon of Eadgar by Elfrida, was advanced to the throne, although ſorely againſt the will of many; for as he came to his dignity through the blood of his brother (notwithſtanding he was perfectly innocent of the crime *) he could never ſecure the good-will of his ſubjects in general, from whence aroſe many civil diſcords within the kingdom, as well amongſt the nobles, as amongſt the people of the common rank †. A. D. 979. Æthelred ſucceeds his brother.

Dunſtan, it is ſaid, not only at firſt refuſed to inveſt this prince with the regal dignities, but was deſirous of advancing Edgith, the illegitimate daughter of Eadgar (born to him by the nun Wolfhild) to the throne; but ſhe having already ſeen the miſerable end of her brother Edward, would, by no means, conſent to the entreaties of the archbiſhop, preferring her preſent humble ſituation, in a monaſtery, to the glories of a crown with ſuch appearances of danger ‡. Dunſtan refuſes to crown king Æthelred.

Archbiſhop Dunſtan being diſappointed in his deſign of placing Edgith upon the throne, at laſt conſented to the advancement of Æthelred, and crowned him, with his own hands, at Kingſton on Eaſter-day, being the 24th day of April, in the year 979, he being then juſt turned of twelve years of age. This unproſperous beginning of Æthelred's reign was rendered more conſpicuous by ſeveral unuſual appearances in the heavens, which, by the diſcontented clergy, were interpreted as dreadful omens of enſuing troubles; and ſuch interpretations were as confidently believed by the credulous multitude §. The unfavourable beginning of Æthelred's reign.

* Inſomuch that it is ſaid, that upon the report of his brother Edward's death, he wept ſo heartily that his mother was exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that ſhe beat him ſeverely with a wax taper, ſo that he hated the ſight of a wax taper ever after. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

† Malmſbury, &c.

‡ Vita S. Editha.

§ Dunſtan, indeed, is ſaid to have openly propheſied of the evils that were to enſue. It is alſo further advanced, that when he was baptized, his water ran from him into the font, and polluted it. Whereupon Dunſtan exclaimed with an oath, that he would prove a ſluggard if he lived. All theſe pretended omens and ſuperſtitious interpretations heightened the diſcontent of the people. Vid. Malmſb. &c.

A. D. 981. The diſlike which the people in general bore towards their young king was the ſubject of various diſputes and frequent diſcords, by which means the power of the nation was divided into ſeparate parties, and continually weakened. Theſe unhappy diſſentions were ſoon noticed by thoſe enemies of the ſtate, the Danes, who conſidered the preſent as a favourable opportunity to accompliſh their deſigns. They therefore fitted out ſeven large veſſels, and a ſtrong party of them ſailed round the coaſts of Kent, where they plundered the country bordering upon the ſea, but more eſpecially the iſland of Thanet, which they entirely pillaged; from thence they went to Southampton, which city they deſtroyed, and either killed or took priſoners all the inhabitants. At the ſame time, a ſtrong party of Norway pirates plundered the country bordering about Weſt Cheſter *.

The Danes renew their attack.

A. D. 982. The Danes finding that their attacks, inſtead of animating the people of England againſt them, and cauſing them to unite their forces together, ſerved only to increaſe the diſcord which prevailed in the nation. This made them more bold and daring in their undertakings; ſo that the ſame army which had deſtroyed Southampton coaſted round the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and pillaged the ſea coaſts of Devonſhire and Cornwall. About the ſame time another party of the Danes, with three large ſhips, ſailed to Dorſetſhire, and harraſſed the country round about Portland. To theſe misfortunes alſo another ſevere one was added, for, in the ſame year, the whole city of London was burnt to the ground; but whether this was the effects of a calamitous accident, or occaſioned by the hand of the enemy, is not recorded. However, from the manner in which it is related by hiſtorians, it appears rather to have been owing to the former cauſe †.

The Danes commit freſh outrages.

A. D. 986. One great cauſe of the diſreſpect under which Æthelred laboured, was the great intereſt that the monkiſh clergy had with the people, and who becauſe they ſtood not ſo high in Æthelred's favour as the ſecular prieſts, were continually irritating the people againſt him; and unhappily, in the ſixth year of his reign, he was involved in a grievous quarrel with the biſhop of Rocheſter. Æthelred, in order to revenge himſelf upon the prelate, beſieged the city of Rocheſter. This matter coming to the ears of Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and he being offended at the ſteps which the king had taken, ſent meſſengers, beſeeching him to deſiſt, at the ſame time telling him, that he would highly incenſe St. Andrew, who was patron of that city, if he damaged the lands that were dedicated to his uſe, or otherwiſe hurt his votaries. This craft (which was not uncommon in thoſe days among the prieſts

Quarrel between the king and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

* S. Dunelm.

† Ibid. &c.

for

for the preſervation of their lands to entail them on certain ſaints) had not the deſired effect; for the king ſtill continued the ſiege, wherefore Dunſtan propoſed the payment of an hundred pounds to the king. This propoſal was by him accepted, and accordingly the money being paid down, he raiſed the ſiege, and departed with his forces. When Dunſtan heard that the king would not be pacified without the payment of the money, he reprehended his avarice, and denounced many evils which he ſaid were by God ordained to happen to him *. This accident, and Dunſtan's exclamation, increaſed the diſlike which Æthelred's ſubjects had conceived againſt him.

A. D. 987. The year following ſtrange fluxes carried off a great number of people, and the cattle ſuffered prodigiouſly by a grievous murrain which afflicted them.—The ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, a large party of the Danes landed upon the coaſts of Devonſhire, where they began as uſual, to pillage the country. But Goda, who was the governor of that diſtrict, being joined by a chieftain named Sternwold, marched with a ſtrong army againſt them, and after a bloody battle, the Danes were put to flight. This victory, however, was dearly bought by the Saxons, who loſt both Goda and Sternwold their leaders, in the encounter †.

The ſucceſs of the Danes.

A. D. 991. From this time to the year 991, the Danes ſtill continued committing various piracies, ſometimes in one part of the kingdom, and ſometimes in another; and being emboldened by the ſucceſs they met with, they then landed in the eaſt, under the command of Juſtin, and Guthmund the ſon of Steytan, two valiant leaders, and deſtroyed the town of Ipſwich, continuing their courſe, uninterruped, and plundering the country till they came near Malden in Eſſex, where they were met by Brithnoth, earl of the Eaſt Angles, with whom they fought, and after an obſtinate and bloody battle, the Saxons were totally overcome with the loſs of their leader, who was left dead upon the field, and the far greater part of their army. This victory, as it added to the conſequence of the conquerors, ſo it intimidated the people who inhabited thoſe parts, inſomuch that the Danes went whither they would, plundering and pillaging the country, and none were bold enough to make any reſiſtance. Æthelred, in the mean time, was not able to make head againſt them; for the ſtate was divided into various parties, which obſtinately refuſed to unite with each other. In this diſtraction of affairs, a council of ſtate was ſummoned, in order to conſult upon the moſt proper methods that were to be purſued in this emergency. Here ſome few offered aſſiſtance to the king, but the greater part (amongſt which were Siric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with

Peace bought of the Danes.

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10. † Simon Dunelm, &c.

Ethel-

Ethelward and Alfric, two chief noblemen *) propoſed the purchaſing a peace by money. The matter being agreed upon, ten thouſand pounds was paid to the Danes, who thereupon promiſed to withdraw their forces †.

A. D. 993. The Danes renew the war.

The great ſucceſs which the Danes had met with in England the preceeding year, and more particularly the money which had been paid to them, was an irreſiſtible temptation to them, or others of their countrymen, to make freſh efforts to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of a declining kingdom.—Therefore, the ſecond year following, with a large fleet, they ſailed into England. The rumour of their coming was quickly ſpread amongſt the people to their univerſal terror and diſmay. In the mean time Æthelred, with the greateſt difficulty, collected a fleet in order to oppoſe them, The command of this fleet was committed to Alfric, the ſon of Elfer, duke of Mercia—a man, who was but juſt returned from baniſhment, whither he had been ſent by the king for ſome great offence, which being now forgiven, he was reſtored to favour, and inveſted with the command. The fleet which Æthelred had fitted out, it is thought, would have been more than ſufficient to have oppoſed that of the Danes had the command been given to a faithful man; but Alfric having nothing leſs at heart than the intereſt of his country, treacherouſly gave the enemy notice of his approach, ſo that they readily eſcaped the danger. Soon after falling in unavoidably with part of the enemy's fleet, he was reduced to the neceſſity of engaging with them, which he pretended to do, whilſt in reality he was only giving them leiſure to eſcape; and not content with this manifeſtation of his treachery, he fully confirmed it at laſt by an actual revolt from the king's fleet, and joining that of the Danes. This behaviour ſo exaſperated the other Saxon chieftains, that they purſued the fleet of the Danes, and at laſt retook the ſhip in which Alfric had made his eſcape, with all his ſoldiers, and his armour, but he ſuſpecting their deſign, had been careful to ſecure himſelf on board ſome other veſſel. However, when they found not the prize they ſought for on board the ſhip, they wreaked their vengeance on thoſe that were there, and put every one of them to the ſword. The Saxon chieftains, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion, were named Theored, Elſtan and Eſcwin; but notwithſtanding all their efforts, the king's fleet ſuſtained ſome conſiderable loſs—and the fleet of the Danes ſecured their retreat for the preſent with but

* The Saxon annals ſay, that Ælfeges, biſhop of Wincheſter, was alſo one of the chief who gave this council.

† Simon Dunelm. The Saxon annals place this tranſaction under the year 993, and declare, that the fleet of the Danes conſiſted of 390 ſhips, under the command of Unlaf, a great chieftain; whilſt others make Unlaf to be the conductor of thoſe who came the ſucceeding year.

little

little damage *; but ſoon after, being met by the Londoners, they were defeated with prodigious loſs.

In the mean time another party of the Danes pillaged the city of Bedbanburgh, near Durham; and ſailing from thence, entered the mouth of the Humber, waſting the country on both ſides, in Lindſey and Yorkſhire. To oppoſe theſe, Æthelred ſent his army under the conduct of three captains, named Frema, Godwine, and Fredegiſt. Theſe men, it ſeems, were of Daniſh pedigree, and the faſt friends of thoſe they were ſent to oppoſe: the battle therefore was not long begun, before they all left their own army to ſhift for themſelves, and joined the forces of the Danes; by which treachery the Saxon forces were entirely overthrown, and the Danes, without much loſs, obtained the victory.—Theſe proceedings juſtly alarmed the inhabitanrs who dwelt in thoſe parts, ſo that they joined their forces together, and fell upon the Danes ſo ſuddenly that they were obliged to make a haſty retreat, with conſiderable loſs.

The treachery of Æthelred's generals.

Theſe misfortunes, occaſioned by the treachery of the chief commanders of the Saxons, and the rapid progreſs that the Danes made towards a conqueſt of the land, were ſo far from rouſing the martial ſpirit of the people in general, that they ſeemed only to have exaſperated them the more againſt the king, who was at this time in a very perplexing ſituation, not knowing how to proceed, nor whom to truſt: however, he endeavoured to revenge himſelf upon Ælfric for his treaſon, by cauſing the eyes of his ſon to be put out †.

The perplexing ſituation of king Æthelred.

A. D. 994.

Theſe calamities were ſoon ſucceeded by others; for, either the latter end of the ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, Unlaf, king of Norway, and Sweyne king of Denmark, with ninety-four large galleys, came up the Thames as far as London, which city they cloſely beſieged; but the Londoners ſo bravely reſiſted their attacks, that, after many fruitleſs attempts, in which they ſuſtained great loſs, they were obliged to retreat; which they did, exaſperated to the higheſt degree by their repulſe; and, in revenge, they waſted the coaſts of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex, with fire and ſword, deſtroying every place they came to, and ſlaughtering every miſerable inhabitant that fell into their hands, without paying any regard to their age or ſex. With this wanton cruelty they held their courſe uninterrupted, until they reached Southampton, where they abode the winter.—In the mean time, Æthelred, utterly unable to make head againſt them, referred the matter to council, and it was agreed upon, that peace ſhould again be purchaſed with money; therefore a treaty was opened with the Danes, who inſiſted upon the payment of ſixteen thouſand pounds; which exorbitant demand was agreed to by the Saxons ‡.

Freſh attacks of the Danes.

* Huntindon, & S. Dunelm. † S. Dunelm, Bromton, &c. ‡ Ibid.

After

Unlaf, king of Norway, is baptized.

After the treaty of peace was concluded upon between the Saxons and the Danes, Æthelred ſent an invitation to Unlaf to come and viſit him at Andover, where he then lay; which invitation was accepted by Unlaf, who, on his arrival, was well received by Æthelred, and entertained in a princely manner. At the ſame time Unlaf, of his own accord, embraced the Chriſtian faith, and was there baptized, Æthelred being his ſponſor at the font. Nor was Unlaf diſmiſſed from the Saxon court until he had received ſeveral valuable preſents; whilſt he, in return for the friendly reception he had met with, took a ſolemn oath never to moleſt the kingdom again; which oath he faithfully kept, without the leaſt infringement *

A. D. 997.

Other attacks of the Danes.

The ſtipulated ſum being paid to the Danes whilſt they abode at Southampton, the following ſpring they departed, and the kingdom was left in peace for the ſpace of three years; at the end of which the Daniſh fleet, that had made its eſcape through the treachery of Alfric, being joined by other parties of the Danes who reſided in England, ſailed about Cornwall, and entered the mouth of the river Severn, pillaging the country on both ſides of its banks; from whence marching farther into the country, they conſumed Lydford, and burnt the abbey of Saint Ordulfe at Eſſinſtock, carrying vaſt ſpoils to their ſhips. In their return, they ravaged Dorſetſhire with fire and ſword, without meeting with any reſiſtance; for the people in general were ſo much diſheartened by their calamities, and ſo reduced, that they were not able to make head againſt the conquerors.—The Danes, thus ſucceſsful in their expedition, ſpent the winter in the Iſle of Wight, from whence they made frequent incurſions into Hampſhire and Suſſex †.

A. D. 998.

The bad conduct of the Saxons.

In the mean time, the Saxons, who inhabited thoſe parts, had frequently raiſed armies to encounter with their foes; but as often as they were brought to action, either from the irreſolution of the parties, the treachery of the leaders, or ſome other misfortune, they were conſtantly overcome: and theſe imprudent proceedings (the effects of dreadful inteſtine diviſions) ſecured the conqueſt to their enemies, and was the great ſource of all their calamities ‡.

A. D. 999.

The Danes leave England.

In the ſpring of the year 999, the Danes quitted the Iſle of Wight, and entering the mouth of the Thames, ſailed up the Medway to Rocheſter, which city they beſieged; but the Kentiſh-men aſſembled together, and took the field againſt them. A ſharp engagement enſued between the two parties, in which, however, the Danes at laſt were conquerors, though their victory was obtained with conſiderable loſs. After the Danes had overcome the Kentiſh-men, they pillaged

* S. Dunelm, &c. † Ibid. &c. ‡ Ibid.

the

the eaſtern parts of the country, and with great ſpoils returned to their ſhips.—Æthelred in the mean time, with much difficulty, had raiſed an army to oppoſe them; but, either through the diſcontent amongſt the ſoldiers, or the treachery of their leaders, nothing effectual was done to hinder the progreſs of the Danes.—After the Danes had pillaged Kent (for what reaſon is unknown) they hoiſted their ſails, and croſſed the ſea to Normandy, where they abode during the winter *.

A. D. 1000. Æthelred conquers Cumberland.

Æthelred determined to take the advantage of the abſence of thoſe Danes who were gone to Normandy, to attack thoſe who were left at home; he therefore undertook an expedition, both by ſea and land, into Cumberland, where the Danes chiefly inhabited; who, being unable to reſiſt the army of Æthelred, he, by way of retaliation, waſted the country with fire and ſword, ſlaughtering all that he met with, and driving away the reſt: thoſe Danes alſo ſhared the ſame fate, who were planted in the Iſles of Angleſey and places adjacent.—The ſucceſs of this expedition ſomewhat raiſed the expectations of the people, and led them to think a little more favourable of their king; but the ſucceeding misfortunes ſoon obliterated the remembrance of this exploit †.—The ſame year Elfgiſa, the wife of Æthelred, died ‡.

A. D. 1001. The Danes return from Normandy, and their ſucceſs.

The following year the Danes, who had been in Normandy for the ſpace of a twelvemonth, returned again to England, and entering the mouth of the river Ex with their fleet, laid cloſe ſiege to the city of Exeter; but the citizens ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that they could not take the city. Enraged at their repulſe, they revenged themſelves upon the ſurrounding country, which they pillaged and deſtroyed without the leaſt mercy or remorſe.—The people of Somerſet and Devon, hearing of the depredations which their enemies were committing, aſſembled themſelves at a place called Penho, where they fought with the Danes, but were overthrown with great ſlaughter.

The Danes gain ground in the kingdom, and why.

From this time the Danes got ground daily in the kingdom; for all the attempts of the Engliſh to extricate themſelves from theſe evils proved ineffectual. For want of proper counſellors, the affairs of the ſtate were badly conducted, and the want of unity fruſtrated all their expeditions. The chief nobles were many of them ſecretly the friends of the Danes, and as often as they were put in employment revolted to the enemies: and, notwithſtanding the great expences that were daily falling upon the nation, the clergy in general refuſed to bear any ſhare in them, pleading their privileges; ſo that the whole devolved upon the commoner people, who were moſt cruelly harraſſed, and ſtripped of every thing they had, whilſt nothing beneficial was effected

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ John Bromton.

by all the treaſure extorted from them. Thus the nation was reduced to the loweſt ebb.—As for Æthelred, he was from his own nature irreſolute and inactive, but rendered ſtill more ſo by the diſcords of his nobles, and diſlike that his ſubjects bore to him; however, in order to ſtrengthen his houſe by ſome powerful affinity, he ſought in marriage Emma, the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, and his ſuit being approved of by her father, ſhe was accordingly ſent over into England the following year, A. D. 1002, and was married to him immediately upon her arrival *.—But whilſt all this was tranſacting at the Saxon court, the Danes, who had been victorious at Penho, and had plundered the greateſt part of Devonſhire, returned to the Iſle of Wight with the ſpoils they had gained, and from thence began afreſh their attacks upon Hampſhire and places adjoining. The Hampſhiremen, however, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the incurſions of the Danes; but, being put to flight in an unfortunate encounter, with the loſs of Æthelward their general, the whole country was left open to the mercy of the conquerors, who plundered and deſtroyed every place they came to, exerciſing all kinds of wanton cruelty †.

A. D. 1002. The maſſacre of the Danes.

Not long after his ſecond marriage, Æthelred, preſuming on the conſequence his alliance with the duke of Normandy had given him, determined upon a ſtep which ended in the final ruin of the nation: this was a maſſacre of all the Danes who inhabited within his dominions. For this purpoſe, therefore, he ſent letters privately to every town and city, that all might be ready, at one appointed day and hour, to execute the bloody command. The day fixed for this purpoſe was the thirteenth of November ‡, being the feſtival of Saint Brice, when it was put into execution with the moſt rigid ſeverity by the Saxons, who, in the madneſs of their rage, made no diſtinction between the guilty and the innocent; for, amongſt the reſt, were ſlain, Gunhild, a ſiſter to Sweyne, king of Denmark, with her huſband Palingus, a nobleman of great repute, who were both Chriſtians, and had been delivered by Sweyne as hoſtages of peace, when he agreed with the Saxons, at Southampton, to forbear hoſtilities, on condition of the money then received; and what made the murder of theſe two innocent perſons the more heinous, is, that they were conſtant advocates for the Saxons, and uſed all their endeavours to befriend them §.

A. D. 1003. Sweyne, king of Denmark, invades England.

The news of this maſſacre, and particularly of his ſiſter's death, being reported to Sweyne, he was ſo exaſperated againſt the Saxons, that, breathing vengeance, he collected a powerful army, and haſtened to England. His firſt attack was upon the city of Exeter, which,

* S. Dunelm, W. Malmſb. &c.
† Chron. Sax.
‡ Milton makes it the 9th of July.
§ W. Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

either

either through the treachery or negligence of the governor of Devonſhire, was taken, and the wall levelled to the ground, from the eaſt to the weſtern gate. The governor was a Norman, named Hugh, who was advanced to that poſt by the favour of queen Emma.—The Danes, after having pillaged the city, and conveyed the ſpoils to their ſhips, proceeded to Wiltſhire, waſting the country as they marched along. —Theſe proceedings of the Danes cauſed the inhabitants of Wiltſhire and Hampſhire to aſſemble together in order to oppoſe them. After they had raiſed a powerful army, Ælfric, who had ſo lately manifeſted his treaſon, and who was again recalled from exile, was appointed general, and, with great ſhew of zeal, marched towards the enemy; but when they were come in ſight of them, and ſhould have been preparing for the battle, he ſuddenly feigned himſelf ſick, and left the army, deſtitute of a general, to their own diſcretion. The ſoldiers, being thus diſappointed, and having none amongſt them that would readily undertake the charge of the command, in the heat of their diſcontent diſbanded themſelves, and left the enemy to purſue their courſe, who took the towns of Wilton and Saliſbury, and waſted the country round about; but hearing at laſt that Æthelred was himſelf preparing to take the field againſt them, they returned to their ſhips, enriched with prodigious ſpoils.

A.D. 1004. The next year Sweyne, having augmented his fleet, ſailed to England, and landed upon the coaſt of Norfolk, where he deſtroyed the country, burnt the city of Norwich, and ſlaughtered the citizens.—Theſe proceedings of Sweyne ſoon reached the ears of Ulfkettel, earl of the Eaſt Angles, a man of great valour; but he not having time enough to collect a ſufficient body of forces, for the preſent, to oppoſe the enemy, after ſome conſultation, made peace with Sweyne, and his army, who promiſed not to moleſt them any more:—but about three weeks after the concluſion of the truce, Sweyne, with his forces, ſilently left their ſhips, and went to the city of Thetford, where they abode that night, and in the morning burned it to the ground. In the mean time, Ulfkettel, who had carefully watched the motions of the Danes, marched againſt them with his army, which he had greatly encreaſed, and fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that, had the orders of Ulfkettel been properly obeyed, they would in this encounter have obtained a compleat victory; for, before he joined battle with Sweyne, he gave command that a ſtrong party ſhould, during the conflict, march down to the water-ſide, and ſet fire to the Daniſh ſhips, in order to cut off their retreat; but, either through fear or neglect, this command was left unperformed, ſo that, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Danes being overcome, fled to their ſhips, and putting off from ſhore, eluded the purſuit of the Saxons. The loſſes that were ſuſtained on either ſide, during this engagement, were very great, but more

The Eaſt Angles attacked by Sweyne.

particularly by the Danes, who had not met with ſuch reſiſtance for a conſiderable time; and their forces were ſo much reduced, that they made no further attack upon the Engliſh during that year*.

A. D. 1005. A famine in England.

The year following, a grievous famine added to the calamities which diſtreſſed the hapleſs Saxons, and which proved ſo ſevere, that even the Danes, who took every advantage of plundering the land, were ſo much affected by it, that they were at laſt obliged to hoiſt their ſails, and return to their own native homes to ſupply themſelves with food.—During all theſe heavy misfortunes which fell upon the Engliſh people, they ſtill continued to foment their own private diſcords; ſo that, what by the frequent attacks of the Danes, the dreadful effects of the famine, and the extortions made by the chief nobles, the whole land was brought to ſuch grievous diſtreſs as had not before been experienced by the Saxon inhabitants †.

A. D. 1006. Æthelred marches againſt the Danes, and his ſucceſs.

The next year, the Danes, having encreaſed their navy, and conſiderably augmented the number of their ſoldiers, returned into England, and ſpread themſelves over the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex, where they took great ſpoils, which they conveyed to their ſhips. In the mean time, Æthelred levied an army out of Mercia, with which he marched againſt the Danes; but they, not thinking it prudent to hazard an engagement with him, retreated before him, and ſecured themſelves on board their ſhips, with which they coaſted about from place to place, to avoid the Saxon army, and plundered the country wherever they came, being careful to convey their ſpoils to their ſhips, and flying thither themſelves, when they apprehended the king, with his forces, was approaching near them. Thus they harraſſed the land by their frequent invaſions, and obtained great ſpoils, without much danger to themſelves. In this manner they vexed the Saxons all the Autumn, ſo that the harveſt was neglected in many places, and in others trodden down by the marches of the army, which added to the diſtreſs of the people.—Æthelred's army, wearied with the vain purſuit that they had made of the Danes from place to place, returned home in the Winter, diſheartened by their unſucceſsful expedition; whilſt, on the other hand, the Danes carried their ſpoils to the Iſle of Wight, where they abode until Chriſtmas, at which time, finding that the Saxon army was diſbanded, they marched boldly through Hampſhire into Berkſhire, as far as Reading and Wallingford, and from thence to Aſhdune, and other places which fell in with their rout: from whence returning home another way, they found many people in arms near the river Kennet, prepared to oppoſe them; but they being put to flight after a ſhort engagement, the Danes returned ſafe to their ſhips, bear-

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid.

ing

ing with them prodigious ſpoils. All the countries through which they paſſed ſuffered dreadfully by this march; for the Danes wantonly burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, whatever they could not carry away *. Mean while Æthelred was in Shropſhire, where it was thought he cauſed, by the council and aſſiſtance of Edric Straton, a nobleman named Alfhelm, to be treacherouſly put to death, and afterwards ſeized upon his two ſons, and cauſed their eyes to be put out †; but the reaſon of this cruel proceeding of Æthelred is not recorded ſo as to give any degree of ſatisfaction to the reader.

Æthelred, the next year, made Edric Straton duke of Mercia, and gave him his daughter Edgitha in marriage. Edric was a man of obſcure birth; but from his eloquent ſpeech, and pleaſing deportment, had amaſſed together vaſt treaſures, with which, as ſome have reported, he purchaſed his advancement ‡. A. D. 1007. The advancement of Edric.

The ſame year Æthelred ſummoned a council together, in order to conſult upon the meaſures to be taken againſt the Danes; for the unſucceſsfulneſs of the laſt year's expedition had ſo much diſheartened both the king and the people, that they did not ſeem inclined to take the field again: therefore, by the council of Edric, the new made nobleman, and others ill affected to their native country's intereſt, it was agreed upon, that peace ſhould again be purchaſed of the Danes, whoſe demands, before exorbitant, were now ſtretched to thirty thouſand pounds, which vaſt ſum, to the almoſt total ruin of the kingdom, was exacted of the people, and paid to the greedy demanders. The heavy impoſitions that the nation was burthened with to pay this ſum, made the people juſtly outrageous, and more particularly they expreſſed their diſlike of Edric, whom they conſidered as the chief contriver of the tax; nor did they heſitate to declare, that it evinced his partiality for the Danes, and want of love to his native land. But all theſe clamours were overborn by the ſmooth ſpeeches of Edric, who, by his flattering artifices, prevailed ſo much with the king, that he not only refuſed to hearken to any accuſations that were brought againſt him, but, on the contrary, raiſed him the higher in his eſteem—being by him perſuaded that all thoſe complaints proceeded only from envy and malevolence. So much was the king infatuated, that he made him his ambaſſador to the Danes, when, it is reported, he treacherouſly revealed to them the weakneſs of the and, and proved chiefly inſtrumental in its total deſtruction §. Peace purchaſed of the Danes.

* S. Dunelm.
† Horent.
‡ Ibid. & M. Weſt.
§ Malmſbury, &c.

poſe

A. D. 1008. Wulnoth rebels, and his ſucceſs.

The next year Æthelred ſeemed determined to put his kingdom into a better poſture of defence than it had hitherto been. For this purpoſe he ordered, that out of every three hundred and ten hides of land, a ſhip ſhould be fitted out, and from every nine hides a corſlet and helmet for his ſoldiers. All this being performed, the fleet and armaments were brought together at Sandwich, and the people in general had great expectations from the operations of this combined force; but ſome fatal diviſions enſuing amongſt the nobles of Æthelred's court, prevented the effect for which they were deſigned; for Bithric, brother to the favourite Edric, accuſed one Wulnoth, a great officer preſiding over the South Saxons, of treaſon. This charge, though it is ſaid to have been falſe in itſelf, had, however, gained ſo much ground in the king's thoughts, that Wulnoth ſoon found that his ſtay in the kingdom would be dangerous: wherefore, having prepared twenty ſhips, he, and his friends, went aboard of them, and ſupported themſelves by piracies upon the ſea coaſts. Æthelred was very much moved againſt Wulnoth when he heard of the ſtep he had taken, and readily accepted of the propoſal of his accuſer Bithric, who declared that he knew where Wulnoth reſided with his fleet, and, if the king would give him the command of a certain number of thoſe ſhips which had lately been fitted out, he would engage to ſurprize, and take him. Accordingly, eighty ſhips were appointed for this expedition, which ſailed from Sandwich under the conduct of Bithric; but a violent tempeſt overtaking them ſoon after they they had put out to ſea, they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, and driven on ſhore, where, being found by Wulnoth, he took the advantage of their calamity, ſet upon them with all his force, and burnt them all. Æthelred, diſheartened by this dreadful misfortune, with a heavy heart left Sandwich, and retired to London, whither the remaining part of his navy alſo followed him. Thus was all this great preparation, which ſeemed to promiſe ſafety to the land, rendered of but little uſe *.

A. D. 1009. Turkill lands in England.

The next year, a powerful army of the Danes, under the conduct of a valiant chief named Turkill, landed in the iſle of Thanet, where they continued until the beginning of Autumn, when they were joined by a ſtill greater party, lead by two chieftains named Hemning and Ilaff. Theſe combined forces ſoon after left Thanet, and coaſting to Sandwich, they there landed, and marched directly to Canterbury, which city they beſieged with great fury; but the citizens, and the inhabitants of the eaſtern parts of Kent, fearing they ſhould not be able to oppoſe them, opened a treaty of peace with the beſiegers, who, in conſideration of the payment of three thouſand pounds, raiſed the ſiege, and departed from thence, proceeding to the iſle of Wight, robbing and

* S. Dunelm.

deſtroying

deſtroying the country as they went along. Æthelred, in order, if poſſible, to check the progreſs of the Danes, iſſued freſh commands, and raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe them; and, being ſenſible that whilſt the whole of them were kept together, the Danes would not wait their coming, or hazard the fortune of a pitched battle, but continue to harraſs the country in ſuch places where the whole army could not follow them; he, therefore, ſtationed large parties of his forces in different places, that they might be ready, at all times, to protect the coaſts; but, whether from the diſobedience of orders, or from being improperly ſtationed, cannot eaſily be determined; yet certain it is, that the Danes were not thereby prevented from making their uſual excurſions *.

The Danes eſcape through the treachery of Edric.

The ſame year, whilſt the Danes were advanced into the land a conſiderable diſtance from their ſhips, Æthelred, with the main body of his army, being not far from thence, and watching their motions, marched to an advantageous place, where he intended to ſurround them in their turn, which it is thought he might eaſily have done, and by ſuch a ſignal defeat have ſecured the peace of his kingdom for a time at leaſt. Amidſt theſe preparations, and while all his men ſeemed deſirous of revenging the injuries their country had ſuſtained from the cruelties of their enemies, Edric Straton, with much policy and ſubtle diſcourſe, perſuaded Æthelred to drop the deſign which he had formed; ſo that he withdrew his forces, and permitted the Danes to paſs to their ſhips without any moleſtation, who were not a little rejoiced at ſuch a lucky and unexpected eſcape. After this, the Danes coaſted about Kent, and, during the Winter, cruiſed on the borders of the Thames, frequently invading Kent and Eſſex, and forcing large contributions from the inhabitants; they alſo made ſeveral attempts on the city of London, which proved ineffectual; for the Londoners, whenever they were attacked, made a very gallant reſiſtance, and repulſed their enemies with great loſs †.

D. A. 1010.

The Danes march into Oxfordſhire.

The following Spring the Danes left their ſhips, and marching over the land through Chiltren wood into Oxfordſhire, came to the city of Oxford, which they beſieged and took; and after they had pillaged and murdered the inhabitants, they burnt the city to the ground. From thence they returned home, and divided their army into two parties, which marching along the banks of the Thames, pillaged and deſtroyed the country on either ſide, until hearing that the Londoners were coming againſt them with a powerful army, thoſe on the north ſide of the river croſſed over it at Staines, and joined their fellows, and thence paſſing through Surry, returned to their ſhips laden with ſpoils ‡.

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

After

The Danes overcome the East Anglians in battle.

After having employed ſome time in repairing their ſhips, about Eaſter they ſailed round to the eaſt, and landed in the province of the Eaſt Angles, and, marching by Ipſwich, went on till they came to a place called Ringmere, where they were met by Ulfkettel, the valiant governor of that country, by whom they had ſome time before been put to flight. Both parties joined battle, and a ſharp encounter enſued, which ended in the defeat of the Saxons, though the conflict was long ſupported by the valour of the inhabitants of Cambridgeſhire*. In this battle Æthelſtan, the ſon-in-law of Æthelred, and many others of the Saxon nobility, were ſlain. The Danes having obtained this victory over the Eaſt Anglian forces, marched about the country for three months without meeting with any further reſiſtance, pillaging alſo the borders of Lincolnſhire and Huntingdonſhire, and burning in their march the towns of Thetford and Grantbridge; the abbies and churches wherever they came they deſtroyed, and cruelly butchered all the inhabitants of that country as were ſo unfortunate as to fall in their way; and in this manner they continued their march through Eſſex until they reached their ſhips †.

The progreſs of the Danes.

They did not long remain quiet in their ſhips; for they no ſooner depoſited the riches they had acquired by plunder, than, being deſirous of adding to what they had already got, they began a ſecond expedition into Oxfordſhire, which they paſſed through, and took in their march the counties of Bedford, Buckingham and Hertfordſhire, where, as they had before done in the Eaſt Angles, they pillaged, and depopulated the country wherever they came, paying no regard to places, however ſacred, nor to the ſex or quality of ſuch miſerable people as fell into their hands. In this march, having taken great ſpoils, they returned to their ſhips.

Other expeditions of the Danes.

Not long after, theſe inhuman plunderers (not content with the ruin and devaſtation they had occaſioned, and the innocent blood they had ſpilt) undertook another excurſion, and paſſing through Northamptonſhire, burnt and plundered the town of Northampton, and deſtroyed the country round about; from thence they continued their courſe into Wiltſhire, and ſo back again to their ſhips in triumph. All this time, the miſerable Saxons, ruined and diſtreſſed by the frequent and cruel excurſions of their enemies, had neither power nor courage to make head againſt them, ſo that thoſe mercileſs conquerors ſet no bounds to their rapacious deſigns and wanton cruelties, which they carried to ſuch a pitch as is truly ſhocking to relate ‡.

* Holingſhead ſays, "the Suffolk and Norfolk men gave way firſt; but the Cambridgeſhire men ſtood firm, winning eternal fame, but at the expence of the lives of their chief nobility: at length one Turkettell Wurencheved, of Daniſh parents, firſt began to fly," &c.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ Ibid.

The

The next ſpring they ſallied again from their ſhips with the ſame ferocity as they had manifeſted the preceding year, ruining the country on either ſhore of the Thames: on one ſide, as far as Huntingdon, and on the other, as far as Wiltſhire and Southampton.—In the mean time, Æthelred, unable to oppoſe them, by the advice of his council, propoſed again to purchaſe peace, by the payment of certain ſums of money. To theſe propoſals they lightly liſtened, but in the mean time forbore not to exerciſe their wonted cruelties; for, being now returned towards their ſhips, about the month of September* they laid ſiege to Canterbury, and ſome time after took it, by the treachery (as is reported) of Almere, the archdeacon. They had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the city, than they began to manifeſt the barbarity of their diſpoſition, by the wanton cruelties they exerciſed on the miſerable inhabitants; throwing ſome of them over the walls, puſhing others into the fire; murdering the little infants, torn from their mothers breaſts, by toſſing them upon their ſpears, or by throwing them under the wheels of loaded carriages; whilſt the women themſelves were dragged up and down the city by the hair of their heads, and made, by force, ſubſervient to the beaſtly luſts of their tormentors. Amongſt the reſt of thoſe whom the Danes took in the ſacking of the city, was Alphegus, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man utterly deteſted by them, becauſe he was contrary to their party, and, by his prudent councils, endeavoured to reconcile his own countrymen to their proper intereſt: in ſhort, he was a man of exemplary piety, and much beloved in the city. Him they ſeized upon, and (wounded as he was, by ſome means, in the dreadful conflict) hurried on board a noiſome ſhip, where they kept him long time cloſe impriſoned. After this, they ſet fire to the city, and, of all the inhabitants, one out of ten alone was ſpared.—Seven months after the deſtruction of Canterbury, the archbiſhop had his ranſom propoſed to him, which was the enormous ſum of three thouſand pounds; and, becauſe he refuſed to burthen thoſe under him to raiſe the money, he was, after many inſults, cruelly ſtoned to death. His body was afterwards conveyed to London, where it was buried, but from thence, in after-times, to Canterbury †.

A. D. 1011.

Canterbury deſtroyed by the Danes.

The year following, before Eaſter, Æthelred aſſembled the nobles of the realm in council, at London, when it was agreed upon once more to purchaſe peace with the Danes; accordingly, forty-eight thouſand pounds (which was by them demanded) was paid, and they again took oath to depart, and no more moleſt the kingdom. This

A. D. 1012.

Money again paid to the Danes.

* Vita S. Alphegi, apud Leland. Collect. vol. 1. fol. 19.---et vide Milton, Hiſt. of England, fol. 296.

† Vita S. Alphegi, Simon Dunelm, &c.

oath taken, and the money received by them, they diſperſed their fleet, and returned home contented for a time, except Turkill their chief, who, with forty-five of their ſhips, abode at London, where he offered willingly his ſervice to the king, and took an oath of allegiance, to defend the land from the future incurſions of the foreign foe, on condition only of being received into pay, and his men cloathed and fed at the expence of the Saxons. Theſe conditions were accepted of by Æthelred; but the future events plainly proved the deceitfulneſs of Turkill, whoſe reaſons for ſtaying behind ſeem only to have been with a view of examining the nation's ſtrength, and, as ſome have alledged, to give information accordingly to his countrymen, that they might renew their attacks upon the land in a time that ſhould prove the moſt advantageous *.

A. D. 1013. The arrival of Sweyne, king of Denmark, & his ſucceſs.

The year following, and, as ſome report, about the month of July, Sweyne, king of Denmark, came over into England with a powerful fleet, and landed at Sandwich, where, after he had abode ſome few days, he put off to ſea, and coaſted about the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and from thence proceeded to the mouth of the Humber, and entering the Trent with his fleet, landed his ſoldiers at Gainſborough, where he encamped.—His arrival cauſed ſuch fear amongſt the Northumbrians, that the whole province, with Uthred their earl, ſubmitted to him without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or hazarding one battle. The example of the Northumbrians was quickly followed by the inhabitants of Lindſey, and thoſe of Tiſburg, and ſhortly after by all thoſe who poſſeſſed the country on the north of Watling-Street.—From theſe he exacted pledges of their obedience, and alſo commanded them to furniſh his army with horſes and proviſion; which being done, he left the government of the provinces which had ſubmitted to him, to his ſon Cnut, and, with his army, marched ſouthward into Mercia, depopulating the places wherever they came, and burning and deſtroying the towns and cities that ſtood in their way, wherever they met with the leaſt reſiſtance; ſo that, at laſt, either through force or fear, the people in general ſubmitted to him.—In the courſe of this rout, he took the cities of Oxford and Wincheſter, and from thence continued on till he came to London; but in his paſſage, croſſing the Thames at an improper place, where there was no ford, he loſt many of his men. Upon his arrival at London, he inveſted that city, and cloſely beſieged it. King Æthelred himſelf was at the ſame time within the city, with Turkill the Dane, who was under his pay.—Sweyne, ſhortly after his arrival, fiercely aſſaulted the city; but the citizens, encouraged perhaps by the preſence of their king, reſiſted with ſuch bravery, that the Danes were beaten off. At the ſame time

* S. Dunelm.

ſtrong

ſtrong parties took the advantage of ſallying out upon them, and ſlew a prodigious number, ſo that the whole of the Daniſh army was thrown into great confuſion, and at laſt obliged to quit the field with great loſs, Sweyne himſelf hardly eſcaping from the fury of the conquerors *.

The ſucceſs of Sweyne after his defeat.

After this unfortunate attempt upon London, Sweyne marched with his army, with the utmoſt precipitation, to Wallingford, and from thence to Bath, where he abode ſome little time, and refreſhed his troops. During his ſtay at Bath, Ethelme, earl of Devonſhire, with many other great weſtern officers, ſubmitted themſelves to him; and Sweyne, finding his affairs went on ſo proſperouſly, returned to his ſhips †.—In the mean time, the Londoners, fearing that he would reviſit them with an augmented army, and that they ſhould then be made the victims of his cruel rage, concluded with themſelves that it would be better for them to ſeek to pacify him; which they ſoon after did, by following the example of the greater part of the kingdom, and ſubmitting themſelves to him ‡.

Æthelred goes over into Normandy.

Æthelred, their unfortunate king, in the mean time retired to Greenwich, where he abode a ſhort time with Turkill the Dane, who, with his fleet, had ſtationed himſelf there. But ſoon after, finding his affairs ſtill declining, he ſent his queen Emma, together with his two ſons, and all his treaſure, into Normandy, where they ſought the protection of Richard duke of Normandy, her brother.—Mean while Æthelred ſtill continued with Turkill, but ſoon after left Greenwich, and went to the Iſle of Wight, where he ſpent the greater part of the Winter; but at laſt followed his wife into Normandy, where he was well received, and entertained in a moſt friendly manner, by his brother-in-law Richard §.

* S. Dunelm.

† Some have added, that, after Sweyne's return to his ſhips, want of proviſion, and the loſſes he ſuſtained in the defeat at London, cauſed him, after he had exacted a certain ſum of money from the Saxons (and by the payment of this money, adds Holingſhead, Æthelred thought to free himſelf from his enemies, but his nobles thought otherwiſe, and adviſed him to prepare for war) to return into Denmark, in order to refreſh and augment his army.—He ſoon returned from Denmark again, and was met immediately by the Saxons, when a ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Saxons bid fair for conqueſt; but, by the revolt of their leaders, the day was finally loſt, and the Danes obtained a compleat victory; and afterwards purſuing their conqueſts, gained the major part of the kingdom.---See Holingſhed and Speed's Chron. &c.

‡ S. Dunelm.

§ Malmſb. et S. Dunelm.

SWEYNE.

The firſt Daniſh Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A.D. 1014. The ſufferings of the realm.

AFTER the flight of Æthelred, Sweyne met with little or no oppoſition, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged as king of England; but the authority he exerciſed was that of a moſt ſavage and inhuman tyrant, laying moſt cruel impoſitions upon the people himſelf, and ſuffering his army to wanton in the diſtreſſes of thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, and whom he ought to have protected. They were not content with extorting from the wretched Saxons all the fruits of their labour, but, to gratify their inordinate luſts, the wives and daughters of thoſe defenceleſs people were ſeized upon at their pleaſure, and abuſed even before the faces of the diſconſolate huſbands or diſtreſſed parents; whilſt, in every place where thoſe inſulting conquerors came, by way of diſtinction and eminence, they were called Lord Danes, and treated with the greateſt reſpect, even by thoſe they were ſo horridly injuring. Monaſteries and churches, and all other ſacred places, were burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed, unleſs the diſtreſſed people redeemed them at ſuch vaſt prices as their conquerors thought proper to inflict.—Nor were theſe all the misfortunes that fell upon the Saxons, eſpecially thoſe in the ſouth; for what was ſpared to them by the mercileſs exactions of their tyrannizing monarch, was ſeized upon by Turkill and his party, who ſtiled themſelves their friends and protectors *.

The death of Sweyne.

Some time after Sweyne had aſſumed the dignity and title of a king, he returned to Gainſborough †, where he called a great parliament; and, whilſt he was ſitting in the midſt of his council, he was ſuddenly ſeized with ſome ſtrange diſorder, which ſoon put a period to his life ‡.

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† S. Dunelm, Scala Chronica, &c.---Others ſay the following accident happened at Thetford, in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

‡ According to the legendary ſtory of king Edmund---Sweyne demanded an enormous price to ſave the ſhrine of Edmund, at Edmund's Bury, from deſtruction; but, becauſe the diſtreſſed inhabitants declared their inability to comply with his demands, he threatened to deſtroy not only the ſhrine, but alſo to burn the bones of the martyr. For which cauſe, whilſt he was ſitting in his council, an appearance of Edmund in compleat armour entered the room, and ſmote him with a ſpear, or ſword, ſo that he died, crying out that he was ſmitten by king Edmund: but no man (himſelf excepted) ſaw the apparition, or whence the ſtroke came.---Vide Mat. Weſt. Hoveden, &c.

The

Proceedings in conſequence of Sweyne's death.

The ſudden death of Sweyne cauſed a great alteration in the affairs of the kingdom; for, although the Daniſh army immediately afterwards made Cnut, the ſon of Sweyne, their king, yet the Engliſh noblemen ſpeedily withdrew their allegiance, and once more inclined their thoughts to the re-advancement of Æthelred, their own natural ſovereign; wherefore they inſtantly ſent meſſengers into Normandy, inviting him to return, at the ſame time promiſing to ſtand by him with all their power. Æthelred received this news with great joy, and accordingly ſent his ſon Edward with ambaſſadors into England, promiſing his forgiveneſs to all who had hitherto manifeſted themſelves his enemies, and at the ſame time declaring that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to protect the realm from the incurſions of its enemies. Edward was received by the nobles with great demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, and the meſſengers returned to Æthelred, declaring their willingneſs to re-advance him to his throne.—After this, Æthelred made no delay, but inſtantly returned to England, where he was received with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction.

The policy of Cnut.

In the mean time Cnut was not idle, but uſed every endeavour to ſtrengthen himſelf, and get his army in readineſs to oppoſe the advancement of Æthelred. At this time he ſtill reſided at Gainſborough, where his father died, and where both his army was encamped and his fleet attended. He not only made every proviſion that he could to carry on the war, but with ſingular prudence endeavoured, by the ſtricteſt juſtice and bounty, to ſecure the hearts of thoſe Saxons as had quietly ſubmitted to him, and ſtill continued to aſſiſt him, which were principally the inhabitants of Lindſey and parts adjoining *.

* S. Dunelm.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELRED *again reſtored.*

Cnut leaves England.

ÆTHELRED was no ſooner reinſtated in his regal dignity, than he placed himſelf at the head of his army, and entering Lindſey, revenged himſelf ſeverely upon the inhabitants for their revolt, by burning their country, and putting many of them to death. —Cnut, hearing of his approach, and not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to ſtand the deciſion of the field, retired with his army to his ſhips, leaving his confederates to the mercy of Æthelred—and haſted round, with all poſſible ſpeed, with the fleet to Sandwich, where he ſeized upon the hoſtages which had been given to his father Sweyne, and having cruelly mangled them, by cutting off their ears, ſlitting their noſes, and chopping off their hands, he ſet them on ſhore. He then hoiſted ſail, and returned to Denmark, hopeleſs for the preſent of ſubduing England *.

Money paid to the Danes.

However, the land was not releaſed from all its grievances by the flight of Cnut, for the Daniſh fleet at Greenwich now demanded their pay; and accordingly the Saxons, already much impoveriſhed, were burthened with freſh impoſitions, in order to raiſe the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, to ſatisfy the demands made by thoſe pretended auxiliaries. And theſe miſeries were ſtill increaſed by an accidental calamity; for about the month of October, the ſea riſing much higher than uſual, overflowed many towns upon the coaſts, and drowned a prodigious number of people †.

A. D. 1015. Edric's treachery.

The next year a grand council of the nobles was, by Æthelred, convened at Oxford, in order to conſult upon the affairs of the kingdom. But here nothing of any conſequence appears to have been done, for the nobles were, as uſual, divided in their opinions, and parties on one ſide propoſing what was rejected by the other; and, to crown the whole, the traytor Edric, during the ſitting of the aſſembly, cauſed two Daniſh noblemen, named Sigeferth and Morkar, to be murdered: theſe were the ſons of a nobleman named Earngrun, who poſſeſſed certain lands in Northumberland.—Edric, it ſeems, in order the better

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid.

to

to colour this murder, brought a charge of treaſon againſt them *, which being credited by Æthelred, he ſoon after ſeized upon their eſtates, and cauſed Elgitha, the wife of Sigeferth, to be kept at Malmſbury, where ſhe was ſeen by Eadmund the third ſon of Æthelred, who being ſmitten with her charms, married her againſt the conſent of her father, and then went into Northumberland, and took the lands which belonged to the murdered noblemen as his own right †.

Cnut returns into Britain.

Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting at home, Cnut was buſy at Denmark in preparing a ſtrong fleet ready to renew the war with the Engliſh, being informed, as ſome report, of the diſſentions of the people, and weakneſs of the kingdom, by Turkill the Dane, who reſided here. Having, therefore, collected two hundred large ſhips, and furniſhed them with every requiſite for the undertaking, and being joined by Lachman, king of Sweden, and Olave, king of Norway, he came over into England, and landed at Sandwich—where he abode till he had ſent out ſpies to various parts of the land to diſcover what preparations had been made againſt him, who, on their return, informed him, that his expedition had not been ſo ſecretly conducted but that the Engliſh had notice of his arrival, and that Æthelred had accordingly prepared a large army in order to oppoſe him ‡.

Turkill revolts from the Engliſh.

Turkill, the Dane, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, upon the arrival of Cnut with ſuch a powerful army, revolted from the Engliſh, and joined the Daniſh forces; and, at the ſame time, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more with Cnut, requeſted to be ſent againſt the Saxon army. This truſt being accordingly repoſed upon him, a great part of Cnut's army was committed to his care, with which he joined thoſe forces he had brought with him, and marched out againſt the Engliſh, with whom he fought a ſharp battle at a place called Scoraſtan, and obtained a complete victory, though the Saxon forces far exceeded his own. This ſignal performance placed him high in the eſteem of Cnut, who failed not to reward him for his courage §.

The proceedings of Cnut.

After this action, Cnut, with his navy, coaſted from Sandwich about the river Frome, and ſailing round Kent, at laſt landed, and with fire and ſword, made his way through the counties of Dorſet, Somerſet, and part of Wiltſhire. Æthelred, in the mean time, lay dangerouſly ill at Coſham in the laſt mentioned county, ſo that the management of the war was committed to Eadmund, the king's ſon, and Edric, the traiterous duke of Mercia, who were both of them now employed

* Thus Mat. Weſt. declares, which, from the after proceedings of Æthelred, ſeems likely. It is alſo added, that theſe noblemen were ſlain in the houſe of Edric, and that the ſervants without, who attended upon their maſters, being clamorous that they did not appear, were beaten back by the attendants of Edric, and purſued into a church, whence retreating to the ſteeple to defend themſelves, they were there ſhut up, and burnt to death.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ Encom. Emmæ.

§ Ibid.

in

in different parts of the kingdom, collecting what forces they could. Soon after they united both their armies, and were preparing to march againſt the foe, when Eadmund had notice given him that his brother-in-law, Edric, was practiſing means to betray him to the enemy, or elſe deprive him of life. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, he ſuddenly disjoined himſelf from Edric, who, finding that his treaſon was diſcovered, fled to the enemy with what forces he could perſuade to follow him, and forty large ſhips. Whereupon almoſt all the weſtern counties forſook their allegiance to Æthelred, and ſubmitted themſelves to Cnut *.

A. D. 1016. The year following, Cnut, aſſiſted by the traytor Edric, marched with his army along the banks of the Thames as far as Creckland, where he paſſed the river, and entering Mercia, burnt ſeveral cities, and deſtroyed the country round about, eſpecially in the county of Warwickſhire, where his cruelty was the moſt heavily felt. In the mean time, prince Eadmund collected an army in order to oppoſe the Danes; but when he entered Mercia, the Mercians obſtinately refuſed to join him, unleſs his father, with the Londoners, came alſo to their aſſiſtance; ſo that all this preparation came to nothing †.

Eadmund's preparation againſt Cnut brought to nothing.

A ſecond preparation, which produces no more than the former.

Sometime after, Eadmund, with his army, intreated his father to join him with the Londoners, and ſuch forces as he could collect together. Accordingly, Æthelred complied with his ſon's requeſt, and being at the point of marching againſt the enemy with a powerful army, and a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, the expedition was ſuddenly prevented by report being made to Æthelred, that his own ſoldiers meant to betray him into the hands of his enemies. Æthelred, daunted by theſe illuſive inſinuations, diſbanded his army, and returned to London. Thus the ſecond preparation was likewiſe rendered abortive ‡.

Eadmund and Cnut waſte Mercia.

Eadmund, after his father's departure, marched with the forces that he had collected over the Humber, where, being joined by a powerful nobleman named Uthred, he fell upon the counties of Staffordſhire, Shropſhire and Leiceſterſhire, waſting the country, and deſtroying the inhabitants, becauſe they refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Danes. In the mean time, Cnut, with his army, harraſſed the other parts of Mercia, paſſing through Buckingham, Bedford, Huntington, Nottingham, Lincolnſhire, and Yorkſhire, where he was not ſparing of his cruelties, becauſe they had ſtill continued faithful to their lawful ſovereign; ſo that between the one and the other, almoſt all Mercia was laid waſte §.

Cnut ſubdues Northumberland.

When Cnut had ſufficiently reduced the ſouthern provinces of Mercia, he marched with his army into Northumberland, in order to

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

oppoſe

oppoſe prince Eadmund, who no ſooner heard of his intention, than he diſbanded his army, and returned, as haſtily as poſſible, to London, where his father then lay. After his departure, earl Ulfred, being no longer able to withſtand the forces which Cnut brought with him, ſubmitted himſelf to him, with the whole kingdom of Northumberland, and gave him a certain number of hoſtages. Yet, notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion of Uthred, he was ſhortly after ſlain by one Turebrand, a Dane, either by the command or connivance of Cnut; and Iric, a Dane, was made earl of Northumberland in his ſtead *.

Cnut returns to his fleet.

After Cnut had ſettled theſe matters in Northumberland, and received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, he returned to the ſouth, highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs he had met with in that expedition, and, about Eaſter, with all his army, reached his ſhips, intending, as ſoon as he conveniently could, to lay a cloſe ſiege to the city of London †.

The death and burial of Æthelred.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, Æthelred, lying at London, fell into a relapſe, and what with the affliction of his mind, joined with thoſe of his body, he died the twenty-third day of April, in the year 1016, being the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign. His body was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, at London, where he died ‡.

The character of Æthelred.

The character of this prince, as drawn by the monks, is certainly very unfavourable. By them he is ſaid to have been a man of diſſolute manners, luſtful and laſcivious; a promoter of civil diſcords, and indolent in his diſpoſition. Undoubtedly, he had his faults; but his diſlike to the monks, and the preference he gave to the ſecular prieſts, may ſufficiently account for thoſe faults being magnified, and ſet in the worſt light; eſpecially when thoſe he diſliked became his hiſtorians. Indeed, as to his indolence in the defence of his country, which ſeems to have been the beſt grounded charge they bring againſt him, it may, perhaps, be ſomewhat excuſed, when we recollect his ſituation among ſtrong parties of various opinions, who, by their profeſſed hatred to him, or ſecret treachery, made him fearful of exerting the utmoſt of his abilities; and, after all, the ſwift progreſs the Danes made towards the conqueſt of England during his reign, was certainly not ſo much owing to the inaction of the king, as it was to the want of unity in his ſubjects themſelves; for, in more than one inſtance, by neglecting the commands of their leaders, or by the treachery of the leaders themſelves, the victory was ſecured to the Danes, and, by theſe means, they became the chief inſtruments of their own

* S. Dunelm.

† Ibid.

‡ This monument was remaining in old St. Paul's when Speed wrote his chronicle. "It remaineth" (ſaith my author) "in the north wall of the chancel."—"A grey marble cheſt, raiſed upon four ſmall pillars, and covered with a copped ſtone of the ſame." Speed Chron. page 366.

ruin. As to the inſidious charge of laſciviouſneſs which is brought againſt him by ſome, that appears to have been falſe to a degree, ſince we have no certain account of any concubine kept by him, or of any illegitimate iſſue, which moſt likely would have been the effect of ſuch connections. His perſon was tall and graceful, and his viſage handſome; he was chearful in his diſpoſition, and perfectly free and affable in his carriage; he paid a great regard to juſtice, and eſtabliſhed ſeveral good laws for the benefit of his ſubjects.

Æthelred's firſt wife, and iſſue by her.

Æthelred had two wives, the firſt Alfgifa*, the daughter of a Saxon duke named Thored. She was married to him when he was but ſeventeen years of age, in the year 983, and died in the year 1001. By this lady he had iſſue ſix ſons and four daughters.

Æthelſtan, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 987; he lived until he was almoſt twenty years of age, from which time nothing more is heard of him; from whence authors in general have been led to conclude, that he was either taken off by ſome illneſs, or ſlaughtered in the wars againſt the Danes.

Egbert, the ſecond ſon, ſeems to have been born about two years after his brother. In the year 1004, he witneſſed a charter of his father's †. This prince died in his father's life-time, towards the latter end of his reign; but at what time cannot preciſely be pointed.

Eadmund, the third ſon, was born in the year 990. He ſucceeded his father in the kingdom.

Eadred, the fourth ſon, was born in the year 993, and was a conſtant witneſs to his father's charters till the year 1014, about which time it was ſuppoſed he died, as his name does not occur afterwards.

Edwy, the fifth ſon, ſurvived his father, and was murdered in the reign of king Cnut.

Eadgar, born in the year 999, is ſuppoſed to have died young.

The name of the eldeſt daughter of Æthelred is not recorded. We learn, however, that ſhe was married to a nobleman named Æthelſtan, who commanded the Cambridgeſhire men in the battle againſt Cnut in the year 1010, where he was ſlain.

Edgitha, the ſecond daughter, was married to Edric Stratton, duke of Mercia.

Elfgive, the third daughter, was married to Uthred, ſirnamed the Bold, ſon of earl Waldolfe, earl of Northumberland. He was ſlain by the Danes in the year 1016. By this nobleman ſhe had one daughter named Aldgith, who married Maldred, by whom ſhe had Goſpa-

* Notwithſtanding Bromton, who is moſt deſperately ſevere againſt Æthelred, would have us believe that this woman was only his concubine, and, of courſe, her iſſue baſtards; but this is contradicted by ſuch a cloud of witneſſes, that it needs no refutation.

† Of lands to a monaſtery at Burton.

trick,

trick, who was earl of Northumberland when William the Conqueror ſat upon the throne.

Gode, the fourth daughter, married Walter de Maigne, a nobleman of Normandy, highly favoured by her half brother Edward. She had iſſue by this huſband, and outlived him. After his death, ſhe was married to Euſtace of Bulloigne, a faithful friend to her brother Edward.

Second wife of Æthelred, and her iſſue.

The ſecond wife of Æthelred was Emma (called by the Saxons Elfgiva). She was ſiſter to the duke of Normandy, and was married to Æthelred in the year 1002. She ſurvived her huſband—by this lady Æthelred had two ſons.

Edward, the eldeſt, was chiefly brought up in France. He ſucceeded his half-brother Hardycnut in the kingdom.

Ælfred, the younger, was ſlain by Harold, the ſon of Cnut, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

EADMUND, *ſirnamed* IRONSIDES.

The fifteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A.D. 1016. Diviſions in the kingdom.

AFTER the death of Æthelred, the kingdom was divided into two powerful factions. Such of the nobility as were at London, as well as the citizens themſelves, immediately declared for Eadmund, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of their deceaſed king, and he was accordingly crowned, as ſome report, at Kingſton upon Thames, by Livingus, archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the mean time, others of the nobility, and the far greater part of the clergy, ſided with Cnut, and meeting him at Southampton, elected him as their king. At the ſame time, they renounced before him all fidelity to the race of Æthelred, and ſwore feality to him, who, on his part, alſo took an oath that, in matters both religious and ſecular, he would be their faithful protecter *.

Cnut beſieges London.

Eadmund, hearing of the advancement of Cnut, immediately after his coronation haſted into Weſſex, where he was received with great joy by the principal part of the Weſt Saxons, who acknowledged him as their king, and whoſe example was followed by the people of many other provinces. Whilſt Eadmund was thus employed, Cnut, about the middle of May, with all his fleet, entered the Thames, and ſailed up to the city of London; and having, by the means of a large dike, which he cauſed to be made on the Surrey ſide of the Thames, towed his ſhips round London bridge into the river on the weſt ſide, he inveſted the city itſelf with a cloſe ſiege, throwing up a trench all around it, ſo as to cut off all communication with the country. Soon after, he attempted to carry the city by aſſault; but it was ſo valiantly defended by the citizens within, that his army was obliged to retire without ſucceſs †.

Eadmund overcomes the Danes at Penham.

Cnut, after his repulſe at London, abandoned the ſiege for ſome time, and leaving part of his army to guard his fleet which he left near that city, with the remainder of his forces he marched ſpeedily into Weſſex, in order to attack king Eadmund ſuddenly, before he

* S. Dunelm, &c. † Ibid.

had

had ſufficiently compleated his army; but this haſty expedition of Cnut's did not produce the deſired effect; for Eadmund, hearing of the approach of the Danes, determined to give them battle with the forces he had already with him. Both armies met at Penham, near Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, where, after an obſtinate action, the Danes were put to flight with conſiderable ſlaughter *.

The battle of Sheraſtan.

This victory gave ſuch conſequence to Eadmund that his little army was ſoon augmented, ſo that he was determined to follow his enemies, and try once more the fortune of the field. Accordingly, about Midſummer, the two armies met again at a place called Sheraſtan in Worceſterſhire, where the Hampſhire and Wiltſhire men joined the Daniſh army. However, Eadmund, and his party, were determined to maintain their ground, and give battle to their invaders. A long and bloody action enſued, which laſted the whole day without any manifeſt advantage on either ſide. In the morning, they renewed the conflict, and the Saxons began to prevail againſt their opponents, which being perceived by the traytor Edric, he cut off the head of a man named Oſmer, whoſe hair and countenance greatly reſembled king Eadmund, and holding it up in his hand, ſhewed it to the Engliſh, at the ſame time calling aloud to them, that king Eadmund was ſlain, and that therefore they ought to ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy flight. This ſtratagem had ſuch an effect, that many of the Saxons began to give ground, which being made known to king Eadmund, he haſted to a place where he might be ſeen by his army, and encouraging his men from thence, they renewed the fight, and made a great ſlaughter amongſt the Danes; but the approach of night prevented either party from obtaining the victory. The third day, both armies are ſaid to have appeared in the field; but there was nothing done on either ſide more than the burying of the dead. The ſucceeding night, Cnut, thoroughly ſenſible of the loſs which he had already ſuſtained, marched away ſilently under covert of the darkneſs, and haſted, with all ſpeed, towards London, intending to renew the ſiege of that city †.

Edric pardoned by king Eadmund.

After the battle of Sheraſtan, Eadmund returned to Weſſex, in order to recruit his army; at which time, Edric, his traiterous brother-in-law, quitted the Danes, and having obtained pardon of Eadmund, ſwore loyalty to him, and entered a third time into the Saxon army; but the event fully proved the treachery of his heart, whoſe only intentions were the more ſpeedily to promote the intereſt of Cnut, although at the expence of his country, and the life of his lawful ſovereign. Eadmund, having reinforced his army, haſted towards London, where Cnut continued the ſiege, with as little ſucceſs as

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† Ibid. & vid. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

for-

formerly. The ſudden arrival of Eadmund, however, obliged Cnut to raiſe the ſiege of the city, and fly to his ſhips *.

The Danes overcome near Brentford.

Two days after that Eadmund had driven the Danes from London, he croſſed the Thames at Brentford with his army, which being done too haſtily, and not at the proper ford, ſeveral of his troops were drowned in the paſſage; however, he marched his forces with all poſſible ſpeed towards London, and coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the Danes, gave them a conſiderable overthrow. After this victory, through the perſuaſion of Edric, Eadmund concluded a truce with Cnut, and returned with his army again into Weſſex †.

Cnut goes into Kent.

Eadmund was no ſooner departed into Weſſex, than Cnut, not in the leaſt regarding the truce he had agreed upon, returned to London, and once more renewed the ſiege; but ſtill the valour of the beſieged rendered all his attempts ineffectual: therefore, departing thence with his navy, he entered a river called Arrene, from whence he fell upon the borders of Mercia, waſting the country, and obtaining great ſpoils. After this he ordered all his foot to enter on board his ſhips, and ſail round through the Thames into the river Medway, where they were met by the horſe, who made their paſſage thither over land, taking great ſpoils in their way ‡.

The battle at Otford.

Whilſt Cnut was thus employed, Eadmund was not idle; for, having encreaſed his army by powerful reinforcements from ſeveral of the principal ſhires, he came again in ſearch of his enemy, and hearing that he was gone into Kent, he croſſed the Thames again at Brentford, and followed him to Otford, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Danes were totally routed §; ſo that, had Eadmund reſolutely purſued the advantages he had gained by this victory, it is generally thought that he might eaſily have put an end to the war at once, by a compleat conqueſt of his foes: but he was perſuaded from following the Danes by the plauſible councils of the arch traytor Edric, who, by that means, procured time for Cnut to make his eſcape.

The battle of Aſhdown.

Cnut, in the utmoſt conſternation, after the above defeat, fled with the remainder of his army to the Iſle of Sheppy, from whence he paſſed with all expedition into Eſſex, where, having once more recruited his army, he began to pillage the country. But king Eadmund, having made proper preparation, followed him into Eſſex, and at Aſhdown ‖ the two armies met, and a bloody engagement enſued, in which the Saxons at the firſt prevailed; but this being perceived by

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Some declare that Cnut loſt, in this engagement, 4500 of his ſoldiers, whilſt, on the other hand, the Saxons loſt only 600. Vide Speed, page 370.

‖ Some place this action at Aſhendon, near Bartlow, upon the confines of Eſſex, near Cambridgeſhire; but others at a place of the ſame name, near Rochford in Eſſex.

Edric

Edric the traytor, he fled with that part of the army which he commanded, agreeable to a promiſe he had made to Cnut, and by that means the Danes obtained a compleat victory.—In this fatal action, fell the earls Alfric and Godwyn, alſo Ulfkettel, the earl of the Eaſt Angles, and Æthelward his ſon, with the far greater part of the Saxon nobility; ſo that the Engliſh had not, for a long time, felt ſo fatal a blow *.

Agreement between Eadmund and Cnut.

After the defeat at Aſhdown, Eadmund left the field of battle, and, with the little remains of his army, made the beſt of his way to Glouceſter, where he was indefatigable to collect freſh forces, in order once more to make head againſt the Danes. Cnut, however, purſued him as he fled, and in his way the Londoners ſubmitted themſelves to him †. He came up with the army of the Saxons at a place called Deorhiſt, on the weſtern banks of the Severn, and, as they ſtood on either ſide prepared for the battle, by ſome means or other, a reconciliation took place, and the matter was mitigated between Eadmund and Cnut ‡, the former conſenting that the latter ſhould reign jointly with him; himſelf was to poſſeſs the country of the Weſt Saxons and all the ſouth, whilſt Cnut was to reign over Mercia and all the north. —Theſe matters being agreed upon, Eadmund and Cnut met together on a ſmall iſland called Alney, near Glouceſter, in the midſt of the Severn, where, in the ſight of both armies, they embraced each other, and confirmed the covenant by interchanging their arms and the habits they wore; and afterwards, having ſettled every matter relative to the agreement, both retired in peace with their forces, in order to take poſſeſſion of their different allotments.

The ſudden death of Eadmund.

The kingdom was at laſt, by this unexpected agreement, reſtored to peace, and each monarch ſeemed perfectly contented with the dominions that had been allotted to him; when ſoon after, about the feaſt of the apoſtle ſaint Andrew, Eadmund ſuddenly died at London, but

* Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ The general received account concerning this agreement, as given by S. Dunelm, H. Hunt. M. Weſt. &c. and their followers, is, that when both armies were prepared for battle, the nobles affirmed, that, to ſave blood-ſhed, the two chiefs of the armies ſhould themſelves alone try the deciſion of the field; accordingly Eadmund challenged Cnut to ſingle combat, which challenge being accepted by him, they both of them entered the little iſland (Alny) in the midſt of the Severn, and fought with each other in the ſight of their armies; but in the end, Cnut, perceiving that his antagoniſt was too powerful for him, ſought to compromiſe the matter with him. The diviſion of the kingdom was then propoſed, and accepted of by Eadmund, wherefore they both threw down their arms and embraced each other, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of both armies.----But W. Malmſbury denies that Cnut accepted of the challenge, declaring, that although he did not want courage, yet he was not imprudent enough, being himſelf a ſlender man, to encounter with one of Eadmund's ſtrength and ſtature; but though he refuſed to fight, yet he propoſed the diviſion of the kingdom, which was readily agreed to by Eadmund and the Saxon nobles. Vide Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 10.

not

not without ſuſpicion of treaſon. And the infamy of this action is laid to the traytor Edric, who, it is thought, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more in the favour of Cnut, ſuborned two officers of Eadmund's bed-chamber to murder him, when he retired to his privy cloſet *.—His corpſe was carried from London to Glaſtonbury, and buried, with all due ſolemnities, by the ſide of his grandfather, Eadgar the Peaceable.

Perſon and character of king Eadmund.

Eadmund was of a tall, graceful ſtature, and his limbs were endued with great ſtrength, ſo that he endured all the fatigues of war with ſuch fortitude, that he had thenceforth the ſirname of Ironſides † beſtowed upon him. He was a man of invincible courage, and of an amiable diſpoſition. The reſt of his good qualities are not particularly marked by the ancient hiſtorians, who, on the other hand, have not reproached him with any particular vice; ſo that we may reaſonably conclude the remainder of his character would have done him honour, had it happily been recorded.

Wife and iſſue of king Eadmund.

Eadmund had but one wife, who was named Algith; a lady of ſingular beauty, and the widow of Sigeferth the Dane, who was ſlain at Oxford, in the year 1015, by the treaſon of Edric, as was before mentioned. Eadmund married this lady the ſame year her huſband had been ſlain, againſt the conſent of his father. By her he had two ſons: the eldeſt, named Edward, was ſirnamed the Outlaw, becauſe he lived in exile during the government of the Danes in England, but afterwards returned, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, his uncle. The youngeſt ſon of Eadmund, was named Eadmund, who was brought up at the court of Salomon, king of Hungary, where he married the daughter of that king, but, as it is thought, died without iſſue.

* The murder was done, according to Malmſbury, by thruſting a ſharp iron up his fundament as he ſat at ſtool. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.---But, in ſhort, various are the accounts of this king's death. The author of the Encomium Emmæ, who lived at the time, and S. Dunelm, ſeem to have thought that he died a natural death. M. Weſt. H. Hunt. Scala Chron. & Encom. Emmæ, ſay he was ſlain at Oxford; but many other ancient authors agree with Malmſbury, that it was at London: but all of them who attribute his death to an unnatural cauſe, agreed that it was through the procurement and treaſon of Edric, though the manner of it is alſo variouſly related. Vide Hen. de Knyghton, lib. 1. cap. 2. John Bromton, et Randulf de Diceto, &c.

† In Latin *Ferreum latus*.---"Qui ſic dicebatur (*ſays Knyghton*) propter probitatem ſuam, cujus ſagitta nunquam in caſſum reverſa, neque gladius in vanum extractus, aut lancea, quandocumque fruſtra vibrata."---Hen. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. 1. cap. 2.

CNUT,

CNUT, or CANUTE,

The ſecond Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

NO ſooner was the death of Eadmund Ironſides publicly known, than Cnut ſummoned a large council of all the clergy and chief nobility of the realm, where he demanded, in a peremptory manner, of thoſe who had been witneſſes to the agreement made between himſelf and king Eadmund, what the articles of that agreement were,—whether it was ſtipulated, that after the death of that prince, if Cnut his partner were yet living, that his ſons or his brothers ſhould enjoy his poſſeſſions, or whether the whole ſhould deſcend from him to Cnut?—The nobles called upon, being over-awed by the preſence of Cnut, and fearful of offending him, for they preſently underſtood the meaning of the ſubtle demand, and therefore, to ingratiate themſelves with him, they replied (as ſome hiſtorians have declared, contrary to their conſciences) that they well knew that Eadmund had left no part of the kingdom to his ſons or to his brethren, either at the time of the agreement or at the time of his death, but that he had intended Cnut ſhould be their guardian until they arrived to the ſtate of manhood.—After this declaration of the witneſſes, Cnut laid claim to the whole monarchy, and there were none bold enough to diſpute the matter with him; ſo that, ſoon after, by the general conſent of the people, he was ſolemnly crowned at London, by Livingus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1017 *. A.D. 1017.

Cnut's ſtratagem to ſecure the whole kingdom to himſelf.

As ſoon as Cnut mounted the throne of England, he caſt an eye of jealouſy upon Edwy, brother to the deceaſed Eadmund, a prince in great favour amongſt the Engliſh. His baniſhment therefore was at firſt reſolved upon; but Cnut, fearing that he might perhaps hereafter return to diſturb him, could not think himſelf ſecurely ſeated upon the throne, until, by ſome means or other, he was effectually removed: he therefore conſulted Edric, who was always ready to aſſiſt him in murders or treaſons, and, by his advice, one Ethelward, a nobleman fallen to decay, was tempted by great offers to undertake the murder

Edwy, brother to Eadmund, ſlain.

* S. Dunelm, &c.

of the prince; but he, being too humane for the employment, ſtill delayed from time to time, alledging that he could not find a convenient opportunity. Shortly after this, Cnut, perceiving that the matter might be made worſe by delay, reſtored Edwy to favour, and cauſed him to be treated with all due reſpect; when, in the height of his proſperity, he was murdered by ſome of his pretended friends, at the inſtigations of Cnut and his wicked inſtrument Edric *.

The two ſons of Eadmund ſent into Sweden.

Edwy being now removed, gave ſome eaſe to the jealouſies of Cnut; but the two ſons of the unfortunate Eadmund ſtill alarmed his repoſe. Edric adviſed him to diſpatch them alſo, as he had done their uncle; but Cnut, juſtly imagining that ſo much blood, ſhed by his own hand, or in his own dominions, would render him odious to his ſubjects, he therefore ſent them into Sweden, in order that they might be privately murdered there. But the king of Sweden, deteſting ſo much cruelty, poſitively refuſed to perform the commiſſion of Cnut, and, in order to place the young princes in a ſtate of greater ſecurity from ſuch attempts, he ſent them to Soloman, the king of Hungary, at whoſe court they were brought up in a manner becoming their rank †.

Cnut divides the kingdom.

Cnut, thus ſettled in his throne, turned his attention to the government of his poſſeſſions, and, in order to hold them the more ſecurely, he divided his territories into four parts, one of which he governed himſelf, and the other three he committed to the care of viceroys, or chieftains, who governed under him. All the dominions of the Weſt Saxons he held himſelf, the Eaſt Angles he committed to the charge of earl Turkill, Mercia to Edric, and the Northumbrians to Eoric; after which he confirmed a peace with all the neighbouring people ‡.

Cnut marries Emma.

The next ſtep that Cnut took was a very political one, namely, the marrying of Emma, the widow queen of Ethelred, by which means he ingratiated himſelf in the favour of the Normans, and alſo of the Saxons, who, though they at firſt were averſe to this marriage, as well as Emma herſelf, yet, on mature conſideration, it was eſteemed the moſt likely to prevent any future diſcords; ſo that, by degrees, the people became well ſatisfied with the yoke that was laid upon their ſhoulders §. And at the marriage of Cnut with this lady, it was ſtipulated that his children by her ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom, and no other.

Edric ſlain.

During the Chriſtmas feaſt, in the ſame year, Edric (whoſe character is juſtly ſtigmatized with the name of traytor) ſuſpecting that Cnut, notwithſtanding the ſhew of favour that was made to him, did not mean him well at the bottom of his heart, took the liberty of remon-

* This prince, from his melancholy deportment, was called the *King of Churles*; or, according to the Scala Chronica, *Kinge of Villanes*.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ Ibid.

§ Encom. Emmæ, &c.

ſtrating

ſtrating to him the ſervices he had done for him, in betraying the country into his hands. This remonſtrance, it ſeems, was very ill timed; for Cnut, recollecting the villainy of the man, and knowing, perhaps, that he had no farther occaſion for him, inſtead of returning him thanks for thoſe ſervices he boaſted of, he reproached him as a traytor, and pretending to judge him from his own confeſſion *, cauſed him to be ſlain, and his body caſt out of a window into the Thames; but his head was ſet up on one of the gates of London †.—About the ſame time three other noblemen were put to death by the command of Cnut, not for any fault on their part, but becauſe he was jealous of them, and fearful that they ſhould be deſigning miſchief againſt him: their names were, Northman, the ſon of Leofwin; Ethelward, ſon of earl Agelmar; and Brithric, the ſon of Elfegus, a nobleman of Devonſhire ‡.

In the beginning of the next year, Cnut laid a heavy tax upon the Saxons, in order to raiſe a large ſum of money to pay his army, who were not yet diſbanded, notwithſtanding the appearances of peace. The ſum he now collected amounted to ſeventy-two, if not eighty-two thouſand pounds, beſides fifteen thouſand pounds which were exacted from the Londoners alone §. A. D. 1018. A tax levied.

This year alſo, an extenſive war broke out in the north, at Carrum, between the Northumbers, and the Scots aſſiſted by Eugenius king of Lothian; but it ſeems to have been concluded without the aſſiſtance of Cnut, becauſe we hear no more of its continuance from this time. The true occaſion, or the ſucceſs of the war, is haſtily paſſed over ‖. War breaks out in the north.

The ſame year a great council of ſtate was held at Oxford, in which it was agreed upon between the Danes and the Saxons, that both parties ſhould faithfully obſerve the laws of Eadgar. Decrees of council.

* For it is reported that Edric declared to Cnut, that, for his ſake, he had firſt pulled from his throne his lawful ſovereign, Eadmund, and afterwards murdered him. To this Cnut anſwered angrily, "Traytor to God and me, thou ſhalt die! Thine own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy ſovereign, my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed;" and thereupon cauſed him to be ſlain.---Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 11.

† In this manner fulfilling an ambiguous promiſe that he made to Edric, who, when he had murdered Eadmund (according to the report of ſome) cut off his head, and carried it to Cnut, ſaying, "All hail! thou art now ſole monarch of England; for ſee here the head of thy copartner, which, for thy ſake, I have ſtricken off.---Cnut, though deſirous of the death of Eadmund, was yet abaſhed at the openeſs of the treaſon; however, diſſembling the emotions of his heart, he looked earneſtly upon Edric, and declared he would lift up his head above any of the peers of the realm. Which Edric imagining would be by the honours conferred upon him, he impatiently waited the confirmation of the promiſe, which at laſt came upon him, not as he expected, but as he deſerved.---Bromton, &c.

‡ Encom. Emmæ.

§ Ibid.

‖ S. Dunelm, &c.

A. D. 1019. Cnut goes over to Denmark.

The year following, Cnut, having ſettled all things in England to his entire ſatisfaction, ſailed with a ſtrong army into Denmark, in order to ſuppreſs ſome troubles that were breaking out in his dominions there, occaſioned by an inſurrection of the Swedes, who had taken the advantage of his abſence to raiſe this commotion. Cnut, immediately upon his arrival in Denmark, haſted towards the enemy to give them battle; and whilſt the two armies lay in view of each other, the very night before they were to engage, earl Godwin, with a powerful band of Saxon ſoldiers that were brought by Cnut to aſſiſt him, ſtole privately out of the camp, and falling ſuddenly upon the enemies, won the victory by break of day, before Cnut had received information of the battle being began. This action, which ſhewed the zeal of the Saxons for their king, and their deſire to ſignalize themſelves in his right, had the deſired effect; for, from that time forward, Cnut held the Saxons in much higher eſteem than he had done before. Peace being in this manner reſtored in Denmark, Cnut abode there during the Winter*.

A. D. 1020. Cnut baniſhes his viceroys.

In the Spring following, Cnut returned into England, where he found all his dominions in perfect peace. Eight ſucceeding years he now ſpent in perfect tranquillity, during which ſpace he made ſuch neceſſary regulations as were required, and baniſhed the two viceroys Turkill and Eric, the former of which preſided over the Eaſt Angles, and the latter over Northumberland; and, in regard to Mercia, he ſeems to have taken the government of that into his own hands immediately after the death of Edric. There is no other reaſon aſſigned for the baniſhment of the two above mentioned noblemen than the jealouſy of Cnut, who began to be in fear of their increaſing power and conſequence †.

A. D. 1028. Cnut ſubdues Norway.

In the year 1028, Cnut ſailed with a powerful fleet into Norway, and invaded that kingdom. On his landing, he was joined by a ſtrong party of the Norwegians, who had been gained over to eſpouſe his cauſe againſt their own ſovereign, by many bribes and valuable preſents, which Cnut had conveyed to them the preceeding year by ſuch people of truſt as he had appointed for that purpoſe. His ſucceſs was ſuch that he preſently ſubdued the country, and diſpoſſeſſed Olave, the Norwegian king, who ſhortly after was ſlain by his own ſubjects; ſo that upon his death, Cnut was choſen king of Norway, which additional honour was not a little pleaſing to him. The grounds of this quarrel between Cnut and Olave are not ſo clearly made out by the ancient hiſtorians as one might wiſh. However, Cnut it ſeems accuſed him of aiding ſome commotions that were made amongſt his Daniſh ſubjects, which he had done becauſe

* S. Dunelm. † Malmſbury, S. Dunelm, &c.

Cnut

Cnut had not made him any recompence for the aſſiſtance he had given him in the conqueſt of England *.

The year following, Cnut returned to England with additional glo- A. D. 1029.
ry, being now king of England, of Denmark, and Norway. Soon af- Hacun, a Dane, thought to be put to death.
ter his return, one Hacun, a Daniſh nobleman, who had married the daughter of his ſiſter Gunhild, and who was grown very powerful in the kingdom, became offenſive to him. Cnut, therefore, under the colour of ſending him to ſome foreign court, charged with an embaſſy from him, diſpatched Hacun from England, and ſuch means were uſed as effectually prevented his return, being, as was ſuppoſed, ſlain by the command of his uncle †.

Two years after Cnut went over into Denmark again, from whence A. D. 1031.
(giving way to the ſuperſtition of the times) he went to Rome in order Cnut goes to Rome.
to expiate for the blood which he had ſhed in his way to the dignities he enjoyed. In a letter, which he ſent from Rome, to Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury ‡, he declares, that his reaſon for taking that journey was in honour of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul; but many authors that have treated on this ſubject, ſeem rather to think that it was his vanity that occaſioned his journey, in order oſtentatiouſly to ſhew his greatneſs and riches. He gave great gifts at Rome of gold, ſilver, and jewels, at the ſame time making vows at the ſepulchre of the two apoſtles to amend his future life; alſo by the way, both as he went, and as he returned, he diſtributed alms to a prodigious amount, and freed many places from tolls and impoſts where travellers were wont to pay certain ſums of money §.

Upon his return into England the following year, he built a church A. D. 1032.
which he dedicated to St. Eadmund, the unfortunate king of the Eaſt Scotland ſubdued.
Angles, who was ſlain by the Danes, as hath been already mentioned. This done, he once more placed himſelf at the head of his army, and marching into the north, ſubdued Scotland, and received homage of Malcolme, and of two other northern kings named Melbeath and Jamare ‖.

About the ſame time, he made his eldeſt ſon Sweyn, king of Nor- Cnut provides for his ſons.
way, which he had conquered four years before; and Hardicnut, his ſon by queen Emma, he ſeated upon the throne of Denmark, intending to beſtow the crown of England upon Harold, his ſecond ſon by a former wife, and brother to Sweyn ¶.

* S. Dunelm, &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide de Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 11.
§ Hen. Hunt.
‖ Ibid. & S. Dunelm.
¶ Scala Chron. &c.

The

A. D. 1035. The remainder of Cnut's reign was ſpent in profound tranquillity, during which time he ſeems to have ſtudied the benefit of his ſubjects, by making ſeveral neceſſary regulations, and attending to a due adminiſtration of juſtice. On the 12th day of December, in the year 1035, Cnut died at Shafteſbury, greatly lamented, after a glorious reign of upwards of eighteen years, and his body was ſolemnly buried in the church of the old monaſtery of Wincheſter.

The death of Cnut.

Character of Cnut.

Cnut was a man of ſmall ſtature, but endued with an enterpriſing ſpirit; whatever great deſigns his unbounded ambition, and love of power lead him to undertake, he always proſued them with ſuch aſſiduity, that, in the end, he conſtantly triumphed over all the difficulties that fell in his way, and reſted not till his undertakings were completed. For temperance and juſtice he far exceeded any of the neighbouring princes of his time, though ſome have accuſed him of pride and oſtentation. However, ſeveral of his actions ſeem rather to have proved his humility and condeſcenſion *. His greateſt crimes were thoſe his ambition cauſed him to commit; for, as he gained the throne of England by force, he was obliged to dip his hands in blood to ſecure the ſame —of this he ſeems himſelf to be convinced; and, in the latter part of his reign, endeavoured to make atonement for the blood he had ſpilt, by his juſtice and piety, the latter of which, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, frequently bordered upon ſuperſtition.

Cnut's firſt wife, and her iſſue.

Cnut had two wives, the firſt was Alfgyfu † of Northampton, the daughter of earl Alfhelm, a nobleman of Mercia; and her mother is ſaid to have been named Ulfrune, inheritrix of Hampton in Staffordſhire, called after her Ulfrune Hampton, and now by corruption Wolverhampton. By this lady he had two ſons—Sweyn, the eldeſt, who was by his father made king of Denmark, and Harold, the youngeſt, who ſucceeded his father in the crown of England ‡.

The

* Huntingdon reports of this king, that one day, when his courtiers were extolling his actions, and praiſing him as a god—he rebuked them in the following manner. He cauſed his royal ſeat to be placed on the ſea ſhore whilſt the tide was flowing in, and ſpoke thus to the ſea:—"Sea, thou "belongeſt to me, and the land I ſit up-"on is mine—nor have any unpuniſhed "reſiſted my commands. I charge thee riſe "no higher on my land, neither preſume "to wet the feet of thy ſovereign Lord." —But the tide flowing in, and wetting the borders of his garments, he roſe up angry with his flatterers, and deſired them to be convinced of the limitted power of a mortal king, declaring, at the ſame time, that none merited that title but he who could govern heaven, earth, and ſeas. Hunting. lib. 2.

† Some authors have not ſcrupled to declare, that this woman was not the wife, but the concubine of Cnut; but beſides other good authority in the Regiſter of Hyde abbey, an ancient Saxon MS in the poſſeſſion of J. Aſtle, Eſq; there is a portrait of her and Cnut, who jointly hold a croſs, and over her head is written,

"Ælfgyfa Regina."

This drawing is copied in the firſt volume of a work, entituled, Horda Angelcynnan, or the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh; vid. plate 38.

‡ It is a ſtrange ſtory that is reported by T. Redbourne, R. Higden, and the author

The ſecond wife of king Cnut was Emma, the widow of Æthelred, who ſurvived him. By Emma he had iſſue one ſon and one daughter. Hardicnut, the ſon, was born in the beginning of his father's reign, and towards the latter end of the ſame, was made king of Denmark, where he was when his father died. He afterwards ſucceeded his half brother Harold in the throne of England. Guinleam, the daughter, a young lady of great beauty, married (in her father's life time) to Henry, emperor of Germany.

The ſecond wife of Cnut, and her iſſue.

Cnut is reported to have had another daughter, a woman of great ſanctity, who was married to Godeſcalk, prince of the Vandals. Both ſhe and her huſband ſuffered martyrdom for the ſake of chriſtianity. If Cnut ever had ſuch a daughter, it is highly probable that ſhe was illegitimate, becauſe no mention is made of her in the moſt ancient and authentic hiſtories, where all his lawful iſſue is ſaid to be recorded *.

A ſuppoſed daughter of Cnut.

thor of the Scala Chronica, and others, to this purport:—That Alfgyfu was barren, and in order the better to ſecure the affection of her huſband Cnut, pretended to be with child, and at the time ſhe ſhould have been delivered, cauſed the new-born ſon of a certain prieſt to be brought to her bed, and nurſed it as her own, which child was afterwards named Sweyn. In the ſame manner ſhe deceived Cnut a ſecond time, nurſing the child of a low mechanic, who was named Harold, ſo that neither of them were really Cnut's children; but the whole of this tale is very improbable, and might perhaps take riſe from the uſage that Harold's dead body met with from his brother Hardicnut; but it is not mentioned in the moſt ancient authors.

* Vide Speed's Chronicle, page 387.

HAROLD,

HAROLD, *ſirnamed* HAREFOOT.

The third Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1036. Harold claims the crown.

AT the time of Cnut's deceaſe, Hardicnut, his ſon by Emma, who (according to the agreement made at the time of his marriage with that lady) was to ſucceed him in the kingdom, was abſent in Denmark, which gave a favourable opportunity to Harold, the ſecond ſon of Cnut, by his former wife, who was preſent at his father's death, of aſſerting his claim to the crown, which Cnut, in his laſt teſtament, had left to him. His claim was ſupported by all the Danes in general, and the Londoners, as well as the greater part of the northern inhabitants of England *. On the other hand, Godwin, a powerful nobleman, pretending to be the guardian of the queen-mother and her children, with all the ſouthern provinces, and particularly Weſſex, aſſerted the right of Hardicnut. To ſettle this diſpute, a great council was convened at Oxford, where the matter was argued with much vehemence. However, the preſence of Harold, and the arguments of his party, which were the moſt powerful, prevailed; and it was agreed upon that Harold ſhould mount the throne —not as ſole monarch, but in partnerſhip with his half brother, to whom the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were aſſigned, and for the preſent were committed to the keeping of Emma, the queen-mother, till her ſon Hardicnut ſhould arrive to take poſſeſſion of them †.

Ailnoth objects to Harold.

Notwithſtanding the decrees of the council, Harold met with a conſiderable difficulty at his inauguration; for Ailnoth, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had the keeping of the crown and regal habiliments, peremptorily refuſed to deliver them up to any but the children of Emma who were the only lawful heirs. However, he was at laſt, as ſome have reported, prevailed upon by Harold (who ſpared no promiſes nor intreaties) to ſet the crown upon his head ‡.

Harold uſurps the whole kingdom.

Harold was no ſooner inveſted with the royal dignity, than he determined to ſeize the whole kingdom into his own hands. His firſt ſtep, therefore, towards the completion of his deſign was to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's treaſure which Emma had in her keeping; that

* Malmſb. &c. † Rog. Hoveden. ‡ Encom. Emmæ.

done

done, he ſhortly after aſſerted his authority over Weſſex, and the ſouthern provinces that had been deſigned for his half brother Hardicnut; and becauſe his party was grown very powerful, thoſe who wiſhed well to Emma were obliged to ſubmit quietly to the decrees of Harold.

Ælfred ſlain by treachery.

At the ſame time, before the departure of queen Emma, Harold, by the aſſiſtance of earl Godwin, whom he had won over to his party, either by a forged letter as coming from Emma *, or ſome other deceit of the like kind, prevailed upon Ælfred, one of her ſons by Æthelred, to come from Normandy into England, where he was ſeized upon at Guilford by Godwin, and his attendants being put to the ſword, himſelf was ſent to the iſle of Ely, where he had his eyes put out, and ſhortly after died for want of proper neceſſaries †. Emma, frightened by the treachery of Harold, fled ſpeedily after the murder of her ſon into Flanders,, where ſhe was honourably received by Baldwin, the earl of that country, and a habitation was aſſigned her, by his orders, at Bruges, where ſhe was ſoon after viſited by Hardicnut her ſon, king of Denmark ‡.

A. D. 1038.

Harold keeps a fleet upon the ſeas.

Harold, in order the better to ſupport his dominions from the invaſion of any foreigner, cauſed ſixteen large Daniſh veſſels to keep the ſeas, which were continually coaſting about, and ready, upon all occaſions, to protect the coaſts; and, in order to maintain this armament, he exacted great ſums of the Engliſh, which they were obliged to pay, but not without great murmurings and diſcontent §.

A. D. 1040.

Harold's death.

After a reign of four years, in which nothing that could redound to his honour was tranſacted, Harold died at London, and his body was buried at Weſtminſter ‖.

The character of Harold.

The perſon of Harold has not been deſcribed by the ancient hiſtorians, but he was remarkably ſwift of foot, which occaſioned his receiving the ſirname of Harefoot. His character is that of a cruel, treacherous, and tyrannizing man—endowed with but few or no conſpicuous virtues to counterbalance his defects; ſo that he was juſtly diſliked by his ſubjects, and his death ſeems not to have been regretted even by his own partizans. He does not appear to have had any wife, nor to have left any iſſue behind him.

* Encom. Emmæ.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ S. Dunelm.
§ Ibid.
‖ Rog. Hoveden, Malmſb. Huntingdon, &c. ſay that he died at Oxford.

HARDICNUT.

The fourth Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1040. Hardicnut ſucceeds Harold.

AFTER the death of Harold, the whole kingdom, as well Danes as Saxons, were univerſally conſenting to ſet Hardicnut, the ſon of Emma, upon the throne; ſo that meſſengers were ſpeedily diſpatched to Bruges, where he ſtill remained with his mother, to inform him of his brother's death, and to offer him the crown of England. Hardicnut received theſe ſummonſes with a great deal of pleaſure, and accordingly prepared, as quickly as he conveniently could, to come over into England, and take poſſeſſion of the honours aſſigned for him. About Midſummer he arrived, accompanied by ſixty Daniſh veſſels and a great number of ſoldiers, and was joyfully received by the people in general. He firſt landed in Kent, from whence he was inſtantly conveyed to London, where he was proclaimed king, and crowned by Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1040, the ſame year that his half-brother died*.

He diſgraces Harold's dead body.

Hardicnut was ſcarcely ſeated upon the throne, before he took upon him to revenge the injuries done to him and his mother by his predeceſſor Harold. He therefore ſent Alfric archbiſhop of York, earl Godwin, and others, with Froud the executioner, commanding them to take the body of Harold out of his tomb, and to caſt it into the Thames, where it was taken up by a fiſherman, and conveyed by the Danes to Saint Clement's church, which belonged to them, and there it was again interred †.

He taxes the people.

The ſame year he alſo impoſed a heavy tax upon the people, in order to pay certain ſums of money to his ſailors and ſhipmen. This load of oppreſſion ſat heavily on his ſubjects in general, who now began to be highly diſcontented with his proceedings, and lamented that they had raiſed him to rule over them ‡.

* Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

† Chron. Guil. Mulden, &c.

‡ This tax, which was the payment of eight marks to every common ſailor, and twelve to an officer or pilot, amounted (ſays Speed) to the ſum of 32,147 pounds. The ſame author ſeems to believe that Godwin counſelled the king to do this, in order to make him odious to his people, which he intended to turn to his advantage. ---Speed's Chron. page 527.

At

Nobles called to account.

At the ſame time Hardicnut called Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving biſhop of Worceſter, to account for the murder of his half-brother Ælfred, of which crime they were accuſed by Alfric, archbiſhop of York. The king, in his anger, deprived Leving of his biſhopric, and gave it to his accuſer; but being the following year pacified by a large ſum of money, which Leving cauſed to be preſented to him, the fault was overlooked, and he was again reſtored to his former poſſeſſions. As for Godwin, who could not eaſily exculpate himſelf, he made his peace with the king by a magnificent preſent which he gave him*, and at the ſame time took an oath, that what he had done was not by his own will or conſent, but by the abſolute command of Harold: and the ſame oath was taken by moſt of the nobility, either in their own or his behalf.

A. D. 1041.

Commotions at Worceſter.

The next year, as the officers of Hardicnut were collecting in the tax which he had impoſed upon the people, two of them, Thurſtan and Feader, being too rigorous in the execution of their office, at the city of Worceſter, were ſlain by the citizens; which proceeding ſo highly exaſperated the king, that he ſent Leofric, earl of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with a great army, whom he commiſſioned to deſtroy all the citizens, and lay waſte the city, after they had pillaged it of every thing valuable; and, if they met with any reſiſtance, to ruin the whole province. Affrighted at the news of the king's anger, the citizens and people round about fled from their houſes and poſſeſſions to a ſmall iſland in the Severn, called Beverege, where they fortified and defended themſelves until peace was granted to them, and permiſſion to return home without moleſtation. But in the mean time, the city, left defenceleſs, was pillaged, and burnt to the ground. Ælfred, their biſhop, was alſo expelled from his ſee, until he purchaſed his pardon and reſtoration by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money †.

Edward viſits his brother.

Edward, the half-brother of Hardicnut, the only remaining ſon of Emma by Æthelred, came out of Normandy upon a viſit to him, and was by him moſt affectionately received. If we can confide in the report of ſeveral authors, Hardicnut was of an indolent diſpoſition, and left the whole management of the government to his mother Emma, and

* This preſent was a ſumptuous ſhip, whoſe ſtern was richly ornamented with gold, and all the rigging proportionably grand. Within it were eighty ſoldiers, whoſe garments and arms were richly ornamented with gold, each of them having a bracelet of pure gold on either arm, weighing ſixteen ounces. Their helmets were gilt with gold, and the hilts of their ſwords were of maſſy gold. Upon their left ſhoulder they carried each man a Daniſh axe, and in their right hands they held each a lance, called in Engliſh *hateger*. —— Malmſb. lib. 2, cap. 12.

† S. Dunelm, &c.

Godwin earl of Kent. It is alſo reported, that the one was very covetous, and the other a deſigning, artful courtier; ſo that, whatever burdens were placed upon the people, the chief blame has been laid upon theſe two perſonages, to whom the whole conduct of the kingdom was committed *.

D. A. 1042. The death of Hardicnut.

The year following, Hardicnut being preſent at a marriage feaſt at Lambeth, where Cnut Prudon, a great Daniſh nobleman, was wedded to Githa, the daughter of Oſgod Clappa, another potent Dane, as they were in the midſt of their mirth, the king was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit, and falling down ſpeechleſs, expired preſently after. This accident happened on the eighth day of June, in the year 1042, within a few days of the latter end of the ſecond year of his reign; and his body was buried at Wincheſter, cloſe beſide the corpſe of his father Cnut †.

The character of Hardicnut.

This prince, from his ſtrength and hardineſs of body, obtained the addition of Hardi to his name, which was at firſt only Cnut, after his father. He was a man of an open generous temper, and pleaſing in his carriage towards his friends. He particularly delighted in keeping a plentiful houſe, and was himſelf ſo fond of feaſting, that his table was ſpread with a ſuperfluity of the greateſt dainties four times in one day: ſo that, by his example, gluttony and intemperance were greatly encouraged amongſt the nobility of England ‡.—His political character we know but little of; yet, from the general opinions of the ancient hiſtorians, it appears that he was very indolent, and neglectful of the affairs of ſtate, conſtantly committing them to the determination of Emma his mother, and Godwin earl of Kent, as was before obſerved.

The death of Hardicnut pleaſing to the Saxons.

After the death of Hardicnut, who was the laſt prince of the Daniſh race, the Saxons freed themſelves from the galling yoke which had ſo long been impoſed upon them; and the day of his death was, in after-times (as ſome of our modern authors have aſſerted) celebrated with games and paſtimes, and parading about the ſtreets, which time was called Huxtide, or a time of ſcorning and contempt §.

Hardicnut leaves no iſſue.

Hardicnut was never married, ſo that he left no iſſue behind him to claim the crown after his death.

* Vide Speed's Chron. page 526.

† Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. S. Dunelm, &c.

‡ H. Hunt. &c.

§ Vide Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, in Sandwich; and Speed's Chron. fol. 527.

EDWARD,


SIGILLVM EADVARDI REGIS ANGLORVM DVCIS AQVITANIE


SIGILLVM EADVARDI REGIS ANGLORVM DVCIS AQVITANIE

EDWARD, *ſirnamed The* CONFESSOR.

The ſixteenth Saxon Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

UPON the deceaſe of Hardicnut, Edward, the ſon of Æthelred, his half-brother, was yet remaining at the Saxon court, and being greatly doubtful for his own ſafety, placed all his confidence in the advice and favour of earl Godwin, whom he knew to be the moſt potent nobleman in the realm; he therefore inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to the earl, intreating a private audience with him. The earl heſitated for a while; but afterwards, conceiving that he might make his advantage of the weakneſs of young Edward, he conſented to the interview. Edward inſtantly came to him, and would have fallen at his feet, but was prevented by him. The prince then repreſented to him the danger that he conceived himſelf to be in, and beſought him to contrive ſome ſafe method of conveying himſelf out of the land. To this requeſt Godwin artfully made anſwer, that he ought to recollect that he was the ſon of Æthelred, the grandchild of Eadgar, and the right heir to the Saxon crown, and alſo at full age to lay claim to it; ſo that he ought not to think of flying the kingdom, but of mounting the throne.—Godwin then wiſhed him to conſider what intereſt he himſelf had with the people, which he would be ready to exert in his favour, if, in return, he would ſwear to be his friend, to preſerve the honour of his houſe, and alſo to marry his daughter. The propoſal of Godwin was preſently aſſented to by the prince, who, conſidering the danger of a refuſal, readily ſwore to whatever Godwin required.—After this agreement, an aſſembly of the nobles and clergy was ſummoned at Gillingham, wherein Edward pleaded his right; and, by the powerful influence of Godwin, his claim being accepted, he was acknowledged as their ſovereign, and the Eaſter following was crowned king, at Wincheſter*, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who were highly delighted at their ſudden and unexpected deliverance from the Daniſh yoke.—Edward began his reign in the year 1043, himſelf being at that time almoſt forty years of age.

A. D. 1043.

The acceſſion of Edward.

* W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Shortly

Edward ſeizes his mother's treaſure.

Shortly after he was crowned, he returned to Wincheſter, and ſeized upon the treaſure of his mother Emma; and the reaſon aſſigned for this action was, that ſhe had not behaved towards him, during the time of his exile, with becoming tenderneſs: and, indeed, it is thought by ſome, that ſhe never had any great affection for Æthelred himſelf, or any of his children. She is alſo noted as a very covetous woman, and devoid of charity to the diſtreſſed; yet ſhe was, however, over bounteous to the monks and their monaſteries *.

Edward marries Edgitha.

The ſame year, according to the promiſe he had made to Godwin before his advancement, he married Edgitha, the daughter of that earl, a lady of great beauty, and juſtly commended for her modeſty, condeſcenſion, and (what was at that time moſt extraordinary) her learning, in which ſhe far excelled any of her ſex that were cotemporary with her †.

A. D. 1045. An invaſion threatened.

Two years after the coronation of Edward, an invaſion was threatened by Magnus, king of Norway, which occaſioned him to put the kingdom in a proper poſture of defence; nor was this matter delayed, for a powerful fleet was fitted out at Sandwich, to oppoſe the Norwegians whenever they ſhould arrive. But this preparation proved needleſs; for Sweyne, king of Denmark, by invading Norway, prevented the execution of the deſign of Magnus, by rendering his preſence abſolutely neceſſary at home, to defend his own territories ‡.

A D. 1047. Sweyne intreats the aid of king Edward in vain.

Two years after, Sweyne, being overpowered by Magnus, ſent embaſſadors into England, entreating aſſiſtance from king Edward, and Godwin adviſed him to ſend fifty ſhips, with a large army of ſoldiers, to his aid; but this advice being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Leofric, earl of Mercia, and the far greater part of the nobility, none were ſent §.

A. D. 1048. The king of Norway makes peace with Edward.

The next year matters took a turn in Norway and Denmark, occaſioned by the death of Magnus; ſo that Sweyne was reſtored to Denmark, and Harold Harfager ſucceeded to the kingdom of Norway, who no ſooner mounted the throne than he diſpatched meſſengers into England, to king Edward, offering him peace and amity; which was accepted by him, to the great ſatisfaction of either party ‖.

Accidental calamities.

The ſame year a great earthquake at Worceſter and Derby did conſiderable damage. This misfortune, which happened in the beginning of March, was quickly followed by other great calamities, as a peſtilence and a famine, by which many thouſands periſhed ¶.

* W. Malmſb.
† Ingulphus.
‡ S. Dunelm.
§ S. Dunelm.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Ibid.

The

The year following, the emperor, Henry the Third, being diſ- A. D. 1049.
pleaſed with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, blocked him up with a great army by land, and at the ſame time ſent meſſengers to king Edward, intreating him to block him up by ſea, in order to prevent his eſcape that way. Edward complied with the intreaties of the emperor, and ſent a great fleet to Sandwich, which abode there until a reconcilement took place between the emperor and Baldwin *.

Quarrel between the Emperor and the earl of Flanders

About the ſame time Sweyne, one of the ſons of Godwin earl of Kent, deflowered Edgiva, the abbeſs of Cheſter †, and would have put away his wife in order to have married her; but being for that offence baniſhed the kingdom, he went over into Denmark, from whence returning with eight ſhips ſome time after, under the pretence of ſeeking his pardon of the king, he traiterouſly ſlew his couſin-german Beorn, who had generouſly undertaken to plead in his behalf. The reaſon of this murder, though juſtly condemned by the ancient hiſtorians, is not recorded. However, after he had ſlain Beorn, the matter being made known, ſix of his ſhips were taken by the inhabitants of Haſtings, in Suſſex, and brought to the king, who then lay at Sandwich; the other two (in one of which was Sweyne himſelf) eſcaped, and returned to Denmark.—Theſe treacherous proceedings ſtill heightened the anger of Edward againſt Sweyne; however, ſome time after he obtained his pardon, by the earneſt intreaties of Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, and returned into England ‡.

The treachery of Sweyne, ſon of Godwin.

In the ſame year ſome Daniſh pirates, under the conduct of two chieftains, named Lothen and Hirlen, landed at Sandwich, where they pillaged the country round about, and from thence ſailed to Eſſex, where they diſembarked, and ſpoiled the country bordering on the ſea coaſts; they then ſailed to Flanders with the great ſpoils they had obtained, and ſold them there: after which they returned home, contented with their expedition §.

Daniſh pirates attack Eſſex.

About the ſame time certain Iriſh pirates, with ſixteen ſhips, entered the mouth of the Severn, and did conſiderable damage, being aſſiſted in their depredations by Griffith, prince of South Wales. They proceeded as far as the river Wey, which they paſſed, and burnt Dunedham, ſlaying all the inhabitants they found, and plundering the country round about.—To oppoſe theſe ravagers, Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, with ſome aſſiſtance from the counties of Glouceſter and Hereford, took the field; but ſome of the Welchmen, who compoſed a part of the biſhop's army, ſent private meſſengers to Griffith, informing him of the preparations that were made againſt him. Griffith no ſooner received this information, than he marched forward with his

Iriſh pirates enter the Severn

* S. Dunelm.

† Edgivam *Leonenſis* monaſterii abbatiſſam.---Rog. Hoveden, pars prior.

‡ Mat. Weſt.

§ Hen. Hunt. lib. 6.

whole

whole power, and falling ſuddenly upon the Engliſh in the night-time, whilſt they were unprepared for the battle, ſlew a prodigious number, and put the reſt to flight.—After this conqueſt, fearful perhaps that greater preparation would ſpeedily be made againſt them, if they continued to pillage the country, they returned to their own homes, contented for the preſent with the ſpoils they had obtained *.

Emma, the king's mother, paſſes the Ordeal.

In the year 1050, or ſomewhere near that time, according to the report of ſome of the hiſtorians of the middle ages †, Emma, the queen mother, was accuſed by Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury (a Norman who had been advanced to that dignity by king Edward) not only of having been conſenting to the murder of Ælfred her ſon, the brother of king Edward, but alſo that ſhe had prepared poiſon in order to diſpatch him alſo; and, further, that ſhe had been guilty of incontinence with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter.—Theſe heavy accuſations ſhe heartily denied, and offered to prove her innocence by the Ordeal law; accordingly ſhe paſſed, blindfold and bare-footed, over nine red hot plough-ſhares, placed at unequal diſtances, without receiving the leaſt injury. Her innocence being thus eſtabliſhed, Edward reſtored her to her former honours, and releaſed Alwin. At the ſame time, it is added, Robert, being aſhamed of his accuſation, fled the realm.—This ſtory, however, has been very much ſuſpected, becauſe it is not to be found in the hiſtories of the more ancient writers ‡.

A. D. 1051. This year king Edward remitted a very grievous tax, called the Dane-gelt, being a tribute which had been laid upon the people in the days of Æthelred, and had continued eight-and-thirty years to be paid into the king's treaſury. He alſo reſtored all that remained of this tribute unembezzled, to the right owners.

The Dane-geit remitted.

Edward favours the Normans.

Edward is juſtly accuſed of favouring the Normans (amongſt whom he had been brought up) when he had aſcended the Saxon throne, more than was conſiſtent with the good of the common-wealth; for they were by him advanced to great dignities, and placed in ſome of the higheſt poſts in the government. Theſe proceedings diſguſted Godwin, who, as he had ſet Edward upon the throne, expected more regard would be paid to him; and at the ſame time he was highly diſpleaſed to ſee ſo many foreigners advanced above the native nobles of the land; he, however, ſmothered his reſentment for a time, till an unhappy accident had like to have proved fatal to the peace of the

* S. Dunelm.

† John Bromton, R. Higden, T. Redbourne, &c.

‡ Yet the author of the Annals of Wincheſter declares, that the nine plough-ſhares were buried in the weſt part of the cloiſters of the cathedral of Wincheſter; and it is alſo reported that Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithin (the ſaint to whom ſhe addreſſed her vows before her purgation) nine manors, and Alwin nine more, in memory of the nine plough-ſhares, &c.--Polychron, lib. 6.

nation:

nation:—Euſtace, earl of Boloign, brother-in-law to king Edward, having been to viſit him, and paſſed through Canterbury in his rout to Dover, where he was to embark in order to return home; on his arrival at Canterbury, one of his followers, ſeeking inſolently to take up his lodging in a houſe by force, ſo much provoked the maſter of it by his haughty behaviour, that either in the height of his paſſion, or by chance in ſcuffling with him, he killed him on the ſpot. Euſtace, being informed of this affair, in the heat of his anger went thither with his whole train, and killed not only the man who had ſlain his ſervant, but eighteen more who had taken part with him. This raſh action juſtly exaſperated the townſmen, who, taking up arms, came againſt Euſtace, and ſlew one-and-twenty of his train: he himſelf with great difficulty avoided their fury, and being got out of the city, with one or two of his train who eſcaped with him, he fled back to king Edward, where he made a grievous complaint againſt the citizens of Canterbury. Upon this report, king Edward ſummoned Godwin, the earl of Kent, before him, and, with heavy aggravations, related the matter to him, at the ſame time commanding the earl to raiſe forces, and treat the citizens of Canterbury as traytors and enemies to the king. Godwin, ſorry to his ſoul to ſee what preference was given to ſtrangers, anſwered haſtily, that it would be better firſt to ſummons the chief men of the city to the king's court, where they might plead with their accuſers—for that, until both parties were heard, it could not be clearly proved who were the aggreſſors; and then, if, on hearing the arguments on both ſides, the citizens appeared in fault, to puniſh them ſeverely; if not, they ought to ſtand acquitted: he further added, that he could by no means think of proſecuting his own countrymen, whom it was his office to defend, until their cauſe was heard, and they were legally condemned. This refuſal of Godwin's highly exaſperated Edward; but as he was ſtill fearful of the power of Godwin, he diſſembled his reſentment; and an aſſembly of all the peers was appointed to be held at Glouceſter, where the matter was to be fully tried. But Godwin, imagining that his adverſaries would be too powerful for him, had recourſe to arms in order to defend his cauſe: for this purpoſe he collected together a large army out of his own and his ſons earldoms, which contained moſt of the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt parts of the kingdom, and pretended that he had raiſed this armament in order to go againſt the Welſh, who, as he declared, intended an invaſion in Herefordſhire. This being denied by the Welſh, who took the earlieſt opportunity of clearing themſelves from the accuſation, the true cauſe of Godwin's being in arms could not long be concealed. Edward, underſtanding this, prevailed upon Leofric earl of Cheſter, Siward earl of Northumberland, and Ranulf earl of Hereford, all three powerful noblemen, and his faſt friends, to ſend privately into their provinces, and raiſe

what forces they could. Whilſt this was tranſacting, Godwin, not knowing what preparation was making againſt him, ſent boldly to king Edward, and demanded Euſtace and his followers. As the forces were not yet arrived to the king's aid, he ſent evaſive anſwers back to the earl; but when the army drew nigh, he poſitively rejected his demand. Godwin, though he found himſelf over-reached, determined to ſtand his ground; but, by the interceſſion of Leofric, and other wiſe noblemen, the matter was accommodated without blood-ſhed, ſo that hoſtages were given on both ſides, and the agreement was, that the matter ſhould be fully debated at London. Accordingly the king and the lords, with their army, which continued to increaſe, marched to London: thither alſo came Godwin, with his forces, and lodged at Southwark, on the oppoſite ſide of the Thames; but he found that his army decreaſed daily, by the deſertion of his accomplices. On the other hand, Edward had augmented his forces, and ſoon after, being diſpleaſed with the anſwers of Godwin, he publiſhed an edict, commanding Godwin and his ſons to depart the land in five days. Godwin, finding that he ſhould, in all probability, be ſoon deſerted by his troops, and left to the mercy of the king, thought it moſt prudent to obey the command; ſo that, with his wife and his three ſons, Sweyne, Toſti, and Girth, and as much treaſure as the ſhip would carry, he embarked at Thorney, and paſſed over into Flanders, to earl Baldwin, whoſe daughter Toſti, Godwin's ſon, had married: and his two other ſons, Harold and Leofwin, took ſhip at Briſtol, and ſailed into Ireland *.

Edward puts away his wife.

Immediately after the departure of Godwin and his ſons into baniſhment, Edward put from him his wife Edgitha, whom, though a woman of ſweet diſpoſition, he never liked. His only reaſon of diſguſt ſeems to have been, that earl Godwin was her father; a weak and unjuſt plea! And not content with diſcarding her from his company, he ſent her to the monaſtery of Wilton, where ſhe was placed under his ſiſter, the abbeſs there, deſpoiled of all her ornaments, and allowed only one maiden to attend her—aſſerting, like a weak and cruel man, that, whilſt her neareſt relations were in diſgrace, and exiled into foreign countries, ſhe ought not to be enjoying her eaſe at home †.—But this method of revenging the ambition of the father upon the guiltleſs and undeſerving daughter, argues not only a weak mind, but a cowardly diſpoſition.

William duke of Normandy comes into England.

The ſame year, William duke of Normady, with a noble retinue, came over into England to viſit king Edward, by whom he was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect and affection; and whilſt he made his ſtay in this kingdom, Edward carried him about through moſt of the cities and large towns, and ſhewed him ſuch caſtles as the ſtrength

* S. Dunelm. † W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

of

of the kingdom moſt conſiſted in. It is not improbable, that William might, at this time, have formed in his mind the wiſh to conquer England, yet it appears very plain from ancient authorities, that Edward made no mention of leaving the crown to him. After William had abode in England ſome time, Edward conferred ſeveral rich gifts upon him, and he returned back to Normandy *.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, Emma, the mother of king Edward, departed this life, and her body was buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter †. A. D. 1052. Emma dies.

About the ſame time Griffith, king of South Wales, entered Herefordſhire with a powerful army, and laid great part of that county wàſte. Theſe proceedings occaſioned the inhabitants of Herefordſhire to take the field, and being joined by a ſtrong party of Norman ſoldiers from the caſtle of Hereford, where they were garriſoned, ſet upon the enemy; but after a ſharp conflict, they were put to flight, and the Welſh remained maſters of the field; after which, they plundered the neighbouring country, and returned home laden with ſpoils ‡. The Welſh invade Herefordſhire.

Soon after, in the ſame year, Harold and Leofwin, the two ſons of Godwin, came out of Ireland with a fleet of ſhips, and entered the river Severn, where they plundered many villages upon the confines of Somerſet and Dorſet. They conquered the inhabitants of thoſe two counties in battle, killing above thirty of their chief men, and a conſiderable number of the commoner ſort, and afterwards returned to their ſhips with great booty §. Godwin's ſons land in England.

At the ſame time, king Edward had information that Godwin was upon the ſeas with a fleet, wherefore he fitted out ſixty ſtrong ſhips at Sandwich, all well ſtored both with men and proviſions. The command of this navy was given to Odo and Radulf, two Normans, relations to the king, who was himſelf ſo deſirous of their taking Godwin, that he was often preſent with them, and lay on board the ſhips, the better to encourage the officers to do their duty; yet, notwithſtanding all their diligence, Godwin paſſed the fleet unſeen by any of them, and arrived at another part of Kent; from whence he ſent ſpeedy meſſengers into that county, and alſo to Suſſex, Surrey, and Eſſex, and enticed the principal men of thoſe provinces to take part with him. This news being told to king Edward at Sandwich, he inſtantly cauſed his navy to ſet ſail in order to find the earl; but he again paſſed by them unſeen, and the king's ſhips came up to London, having in vain endeavoured to intercept him. Godwin being informed that the king's fleet was gone to London, ſet ſail for the Iſle Edward fits out a fleet againſt Godwin.

* Ingulf. † Bromton. ‡ S. Dunelm. § Malmſb.

of Wight, where he was met by the fleet under the conduct of his two ſons, who, after their conqueſt upon the banks of the Severn, had coaſted round to the iſle of Wight.

Godwin goes to London.

Godwin being joined by his ſons, the united fleet ſailed round the coaſts towards London, and, by the way, they encreaſed both the number of their ſoldiers and navy. The king, who ſtill lay at London, was exceedingly diſconcerted at this news; however, by the advice of the Normans, who filled the moſt important places at his court, he determined to wait the approach of his enemies. When Godwin reached London, and both parties ſeemed to be prepared for battle, the matter was mitigated by the means of the nobility, and the people, on either ſide, being chiefly Engliſh, refuſed to fight with each other, ſo that a peace was ſet on foot upon theſe conditions, that Godwin, and his family, ſhould be reſtored to their former honours; whilſt Godwin, on his part, ſhould give hoſtages to king Edward (which were to be kept in the court of Normandy) for his, and his family's, future loyalty; and that the Normans, who were ſo great at court, and who had been the occaſion of all theſe diſturbances, ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom. Edward at firſt refuſed to ratify this agreement, but the Londoners alſo joining in the outcry againſt the Normans, he was at laſt perſuaded, and chiefly by the council of Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, to give his conſent; ſo that Godwin, and his whole family (Sweyne excepted, who repenting of his miſdeeds, but in chief of the murder of Beorn, his couſin, was, at this time, on a pilgrimage towards the Holy Land, from whence he never returned *) were reſtored to their governments, and Edgitha, the queen, was recalled from her retirement, once more to ſhare the honours of the court †. Mean while, the Normans made their eſcape with the greateſt ſecreſy and precipitation, well knowing how obnoxious they were to the people in general, by whom they feared to be torn in pieces if they ſhould have been ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.

A. D. 1053.

The brother of Griffith taken.

The following year, Rheſe, brother to Griffith, prince of South Wales, who, by his frequent inroads into the borders of the Engliſh dominions, had done conſiderable damage, was taken by the Engliſh at Bulendun, and being put to death by the command of king Edward his head was brought to him at Glouceſter, where he then lay ‡.

Death of Godwin.

Godwin did not long ſurvive his re-advancement to his former honours and dignities, for the year after, A. D. 1053, he expired, being ſeized in a fit as he was ſitting at meat with the king at his palace of

* Malmſb. l. 2. cap. 13.

† Hoveden, Higden, Alured, Beverlier, l. 8. &c.

‡ S. Dunelm.

Odiham.

Odiham. The circumſtance of his death, as recorded by ſeveral of our beſt hiſtorians, is very extraordinary. They report, that on Eaſter Monday, whilſt he was at table, mention was made to the king of his brother Ælfred, upon which he looked ſternly at Godwin, who, when he perceived it, in order to vindicate himſelf, replied, "At every mention made, my liege, of your brother Ælfred, you frown on me; but may God prevent me from ſwallowing this morſel if I am guilty of his death." He had ſcarcely pronounced theſe words, and put the morſel to his mouth, but he fell down from his ſeat, and ſpoke no more. His ſons took him up from the ground, and bore him into another room in the palace, hoping that he would recover; but all their endeavours proved in vain, and, on the Thurſday following, being the 15th day of April, he died *. Godwin was ſucceeded in his honours, and great offices, by Harold his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; beſides whom, he left by Githa, his only wife, the daughter of Cnut, four other ſons, all poſſeſſed of great eſtates, and conſiderable offices †.

Harold ſucceeds his father.

The power of the Godwin family was leſſened for a time, after his deceaſe; for the government of the Eaſt Saxons and Angles, which he had poſſeſſed, was taken from Harold, and given to Algar, the ſon of Leofric; but Harold, who was a man well verſed in ſound policy, ſeeing the king was childleſs, formed the deſign of ſecuring to himſelf the crown at his deceaſe. He carried himſelf in that polite and inſinuating manner towards Edward, that he ſoon obtained his good graces, and recovered all the power, which, at Godwin's death, had been loſt to the family ‡.

A. D. 1055.

The death of Siward, and advancement of Toſti.

Two years after the death of Godwin, Siward, earl of Northumberland, a potent nobleman, and faithful friend of king Edward, died at York, and, upon his deceaſe, Harold obtained the earldom of Northumberland for his brother Toſti. Soon after this, having procured, by falſe accuſation, the baniſhment of Algar, earl of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt Angles, he obtained the government of thoſe provinces for himſelf §; by this means near two-thirds of all England came under the dominion of his family.

Algar reſtored to his earldom.

Algar, in the mean time, highly diſcontented with his diſgrace, fled into Ireland, from whence he ſoon after returned, bringing a body of forces with him, and being joined by Griffith, prince of Wales, who is ſaid to have married his daughter Edgiva, he entered England, and having overcome Radulf, a Norman, (ſon to the king's ſiſter Goda, by her firſt huſband) to whom the conduct of the army had been committed, they entered Hereford, and burnt the city; but Harold, with an additional force, going againſt them, a treaty

* Malmſ. ib. Ingulf, Alured Ravelin, Alured Beverlier, &c.
† Chron. Sax, p. 168.
‡ Ingulf.
§ Ibid. &c. &c.

was

was at laſt entered upon, and Algar, having an opportunity of clearing his innocence with king Edward, was by him pardoned for the hoſtilities he had committed, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his government, which he held until the death of his father Leofric.

A. D. 1057. Edward ſends for his nephew.

All this time, Edward was far from being ignorant of the ambitious views of Harold, although he could not eaſily think upon the means of prevention; and finding himſelf grow aged and infirm, he was doubtful with himſelf whom he ſhould nominate for his ſucceſſor that might be able to diſpute the crown with Harold, who was daily ſtrengthening his parties. However, he at laſt reſolved to call into the kingdom his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſides, his half brother, whoſe juſt title to the throne none could diſpute. Accordingly, he diſpatched Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, to the court of Hungary, in order to conduct that prince and his family into England. Edward arrived in England in the year 1057, being then about forty years of age; but he died within a few days after he reached London, and left behind him only one ſon Eadgar Ætheling, who was both too young and inactive to ſucceed his uncle. Edward had alſo two daughters, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtiana, who became a nun *. The ambitious Harold, who had been alarmed at the arrival of prince Edward, was not a little pleaſed at his death, and alſo at the unpromiſing genius of his ſon *.

The death of Leofric, earl of Mercia.

The ſame year, on the third day of Auguſt, Leofric, earl of Mercia, deceaſed; a great and powerful nobleman, juſtly celebrated for his probity and juſtice. His irreproachable conduct gained him the eſteem of the people whom he governed, and by whom he was greatly lamented. This nobleman, and Siward, earl of Northumberland, by their great power and influence, were the balances that prevented Godwin's family from riſing to too great a heighth; but, upon their deceaſe, Harold became ſtill more potent, and took every opportunity of increaſing his greatneſs. Leofric was ſucceeded in his earldom of Mercia by Algar his ſon †.

A. D. 1059. The expulſion of Algar.

Algar, however, was not permitted to hold his earldom in quiet; for the year after his father's death, A. D. 1058, he was again accuſed of ſome miſdemeanours, and baniſhed the kingdom; but being a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, and aſſiſted by Griffith and a fleet of Norwegians, he once more recovered his poſſeſſions, in ſpite of all the oppoſition that was made againſt him; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his labour; for the following year, 1059, he died, leaving behind him two ſons, Edwin and Morcar, the eldeſt of which ſucceeded him in the earldom of Mercia ‡.

* Malmſ. lib. 2. cap. 15. † S. Dunelm. ‡ Ibid.

About

About this time, according to the general tenor of the ancient hiſtorians, Harold went to Normandy, commiſſioned, as ſome have reported, by king Edward, to inform duke William that he had appointed him his heir. But, indeed, the more likely account of this tranſaction is, that he went thither in order to redeem his brother Ulnoth, and his nephew Haquin, who had been placed in the Norman court by king Edward, they being the hoſtages which were given to the king upon the late reconciliation between Godwin and him *. Harold, it ſeems, had often importuned the king to releaſe theſe pledges; and, at laſt, obtained leave of him to make a voyage into Normandy in order to redeem them. Accordingly, attended by a great train, he ſailed with two ſhips, from Boreham in Suſſex, and, after meeting with ſeveral misfortunes, at laſt reached the court of Normandy, and made known his errand to the duke. William, on the other hand, well knowing the great power of Harold, made him fair promiſes, and valuable preſents; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted upon his taking oath, that, upon the death of Edward, he would be aſſiſting in the raiſing him to the throne of England. Harold, finding that he was now entirely in the power of his rival, readily agreed to whatever was demanded of him; and William, the more firmly to engage him in his intereſt, promiſed him his own daughter in marriage as ſoon as ſhe came of age, (ſhe being at that time too young;) and gave him up the youngeſt of the two hoſtages, promiſing to ſend the other after him. However, Harold was no ſooner returned to England, than he totally diſregarded all the oaths and promiſes he had made to William, and redoubled his aſſiduity to ſecure the crown of England to himſelf †. A. D. 1060. Harold's journey to Normandy.

In the year 1064, Harold raiſed his reputation to the higheſt degree by the victories he obtained over the Welſh, who, under Griffith, their prince, had made continual inroads on the borders of England, and done great damage. Though Harold had, upon ſome former occaſions, defeated and driven them back, yet they were conſtantly making head again, and renewing their attacks; therefore, this year, in conjunction with his brother Toſti, earl of Northumberland, he invaded Wales, both by ſea and land; and this expedition was ſo well planned, and conducted with ſuch ſpirit, that the Welſh, fearing their nation would be exterminated, ſeized upon their brave conductor Griffith, and after they had cut off his head, ſent it to Harold as a mark of their entire ſubmiſſion. Harold having thus fortunately obtained a compleat conqueſt, returned back not a little heightened in the eſteem A. D. 1064. The Welſh ſubdued.

* S. Dunelm.

† It muſt be owned that even this account of this ſtrange tranſaction is far from being ſatisfactory. "In which," (ſays a modern author) "there ſeems to be ſome ſecret which none of our hiſtorians have penetrated." The readers will find it variouſly accounted for in the ancient chronicles of Ingulf, Malmſ. Hoveden, Bromton, H. Hunt, and R. Higden, &c.

of

of the Engliſh people; and Edward appointed two brothers, Blethyn and Rheywallon, to rule over the Welſh, inſtead of Griffith, whom they had ſlain*.

A.D. 1064. Toſti was very ſerviceable in the above expedition, and had alſo manifeſted his valour on other occaſions; yet he was a man of violent paſſions, and guilty of many flagrant acts of cruelty and oppreſſion in his government. He loaded the people with exceſſive taxes; he ſeized upon the eſtates of many, and put the owners, with their families, to death, in order to ſecure them to himſelf†. In ſhort, ſuch was his tyrannical oppreſſion that the Northumbrians could no longer endure him, eſpecially as their grievances were daily increaſing. They, therefore, had recourſe to arms, and, in their fury, ſlew ſeveral of his officers, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſeized upon his treaſures, drove him out of their country‡, and choſe Morcar, the ſon of Algar, duke of Mercia, for their earl.

Toſti driven from his earldom.

Toſti complains to the king, & the event.

Toſti, after his expulſion, haſted to the king, where he made a heavy complaint againſt the Northumbrians, which being liſtened to by Edward, Harold was diſpatched, with a powerful army, to puniſh the Northumbrians, and reſtore his brother to his earldom. When Harold approached the borders of Northumberland, he was met by certain deputies from the diſcontented people of that country, who informed him of the cruelties of their late earl; and alſo repreſented firmly to him, that they were a free people, both by their birth and education; and, therefore, could not bear the tyranny and inhumanity of their governors; that they had learned of their anceſtors either to maintain their liberties, or die in their defence—but ſhould be very quiet and obedient under a mild and juſt ſuperior. Harold, finding that they had but too juſt grounds for their complaint, left his brother to ſhift for himſelf; and perſuaded the king to pardon the Northumbrians, and confirm Morcar in his earldom; upon which, Toſti, full of anger and diſcontent, retired to Flanders§.

A. D. 1065. The removal of Toſti from that important government was by no means detrimental to the views of Harold; for, though he was his brother, yet he was not a man whom he could truſt, but one much more likely to prove his rival than his friend; it was, therefore, more advantageous to him to place one in that poſt who was beloved by the people themſelves, and, by that means, he obliged both the governor and the people, and ſecured their intereſt. This he was well aware of, and, in order to lay the foundation of his future advancement more firmly, he married the ſiſter of Edwin and Morcar; ſo that, by

Toſti's baniſhment no hurt to Harold.

* S. Dunelm, Ingulf, Malmſ. H. Hunt. lib. 6.

† Bromton.

‡ Malmſb. l. 2. c. 13. H. Hunt. l. 6, &c.

§ Id. ibid & Knyghton.

this

this prudent ſtep he entirely gained the hearts of thoſe two noblemen, and with them all the people of Northumberland and Mercia, to his aſſiſtance *.

Whilſt Harold was thus at the heighth of his power, it was evident to every one that he would ſucceed king Edward, who growing daily more and more infirm, deceaſed on Thurſday the fifth of January, in the year 1066, which being the eve of the Epiphany, his corpſe was ſolemnly enterred the following day in the new church at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of all the members of a great council which Edward had ſummoned to attend the dedication of that church †. A. D. 1066. Death of king Edward.

Edward was of a ruddy complexion, of a graceful ſtature, and handſome in his perſon, which was much improved by rich habits; thoſe, however, he never affected. He was a weak prince, eaſy to be prevailed upon by thoſe about him; ſo that he is juſtly ſaid to have had no paſſions or reſentments of his own, but conſtantly adopted thoſe of his miniſters. His manners were ſimple, inoffenſive, and unaffected. He was ſcrupulouſly chaſte and devout, neglecting all amuſements but hawking, in which he greatly delighted. He was ſparing in his diet, and an utter enemy to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, yet he was kind and bountiful to all about him, whether foreigners or natives. He was not either proud or avaricious, but a great lover of juſtice, and an enemy of oppreſſion. In ſhort, he was a timerous, well deſigning man, without any one of thoſe qualities that are neceſſary to make a great monarch. His exterior piety and holineſs, and the particular favour he manifeſted towards the monks and clergy in general, obtained him the names of Saint and Confeſſor. Perſon and character of king Edward.

His wife was Edgitha, the daughter of earl Godwin, from whoſe bed he is ſaid to have abſtained out of principles of miſtaken piety; but it is far more likely that the diſlike he bore to her father might alſo extend to her. She ſurvived him eight years, dying A. D. 1074, the eighth year of the reign of William the Conqueror, declaring herſelf an unſpotted virgin, and was buried beſide her huſband in the new church at Weſtminſter. The wife of king Edward.

* Vide Carte's General Hiſt. p. 355. ſup. Hen. Hunt. Hoveden, Ingulf, &c.
† Chron. Sax. p. 171. W. Malmſb. ut

HAROLD THE SECOND,

The ſeventeenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

Harold claims the crown.

THE throne, now vacant by the death of king Edward, was quickly filled by Harold, without the leaſt oppoſition, as if his title had been as clear as it was defective: he declared, indeed, that his predeceſſor had named him for his ſucceſſor, but of this he could never produce ſufficient evidence. The truth ſeems to be, that Harold owed his advancement to the throne chiefly to his own great power, wealth and popularity, and the ſtrong connections he had made with the chief nobility. To this may certainly be added, the love which the citizens of London bore towards him, and the general favour of the clergy. In ſhort, he ſeems to have been ſo well received by the nobles, the clergy, and the people in general, that, although Eadgar Atheling, the unqueſtionable heir to the crown, was preſent, yet his name was ſcarcely mentioned, nor the leaſt offer made of oppoſing him to Harold *.

The coronation of Harold.

Harold was crowned at London, on the 6th of January, 1066, the very day that king Edward, his predeceſſor, was buried. The ceremony of his coronation was performed in the cathedral church of Saint Paul, by Aldred, archbiſhop of York †.

Harold's prudent government.

Harold, thus ſeated upon the throne, endeavoured, by all mildneſs and juſtice, to ſecure the affection of the people, repealing bad laws, and impoſing ſuch as beſt ſuited the conſtitution. He patronized the clergy, and was affable and gracious to all his ſubjects ‡. He readily foreſaw that his reign would be diſturbed, and his claim diſputed; his earlieſt care, therefore, was to provide a fleet and an army to defend himſelf. The friendleſs and neglected Eadgar, at home, he had no fear of; but his enraged brother, who had taken refuge in Flanders, and William duke of Normandy, to whom he had ſworn to be aſſiſting

* Malmſbury.
† Ibid.
‡ Alured Beverl. lib. 8.---Malmſbury, lib. 2. cap. 13.

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in placing him upon the throne which he himſelf had uſurped, were dangerous enemies.

The duke of Normandy demands the crown of Harold.

Harold had not long been crowned, before meſſengers came from Normandy, who, in the name of the duke their maſter, demanded the crown of him, which he had unjuſtly ſeized upon, notwithſtanding the oath he had made to the duke. To this peremptory demand, Harold boldly anſwered, that the oath he had taken was forced from him, and not made by his own free conſent, and for that reaſon could not be binding; and that he was fully determined to defend the throne to which he had been raiſed by the united conſent of the nobility, the clergy, and the people.—The ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer to William, he made inſtant preparation for the invaſion of England*.

Tofti arms againſt his brother Harold.

In the mean time, Toſti, in Flanders, hearing of his brother's advancement, and burning with rage and envy, went inſtantly to Roan, in order to perſuade William to invade England. William, who wanted no incitement to the attempt, was then preparing for it with the greateſt vigour. Toſti was well received in Normandy by the Duke, who encouraged him to harraſs the coaſts of England, whilſt he himſelf compleated the preparations he was making againſt Harold. —Toſti then ſent meſſengers into Denmark and Norway, to ſupplicate aſſiſtance; mean while he himſelf, ſpurred on with the hopes of revenge, ſet ſail with ſixty ſhips from Flanders. The firſt place he landed at was the Iſle of Wight, where he took ſome ſpoils; after which, in his way coaſting round towards Lincolnſhire, he made ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, and was at laſt defeated by Edwin and Morca, and, to add to his misfortunes, he was deſerted by many of his aſſiſtants. This obliged him to retire into Scotland, where he earneſtly, but in vain, ſolicited aid of Malcolm, king of that country. His meſſengers whom he had ſent into Norway were more ſucceſsful; for, at their intreaty, Harold Harfager, king of Norway, with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, put to ſea, and coming to the mouth of the Tyne, was joined by Toſti, with what forces he had left: they then ſailed together up the Humber, and landed in Yorkſhire, where, having overcome an army conducted by the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, they took the city of York.—Harold, in the mean time, hearing of their arrival, was upon his march with a powerful army; but, notwithſtanding all his ſpeed, he could not come up with them till five days after the above-mentioned unfortunate diſaſter. Both the armies met on the 25th day of September, near Stanford-bridge, where, after a bloody battle, Harold obtained a compleat victory. In this battle fell both Toſti and Har-

* Malmſb. Ingulf, &c.

fager the king of Norway, and their whole army was almoſt deſtroyed. The conquerors obtained much treaſure and many valuable ſpoils, only twenty of the enemies vaſt fleet being ſuffered to depart *.

News of William's arrival brought to Harold.

This important victory delivered Harold from two of his moſt dangerous enemies. His joy, however, was but of ſhort duration; for few days paſſed before he received accounts of the landing of William, duke of Normandy, at Pevenſy in Suſſex, with an army of ſixty thouſand men. This news ſurprized him the more, becauſe, as William had ſo long delayed his coming, he began to flatter himſelf that he had laid his intended expedition aſide. Upon this conſideration, the powerful army, and numerous fleet of ſhips, which had been fitted out during the ſummer to defend the coaſts, were diſbanded, and the army permitted to return home: thus the coaſts were left open to the invaſion of the foe.—William landed on the twenty-fifth day of September, and going to Haſtings, built a fort there, where he waited the approach of the enemy †.

The battle of Haſtings, and death of Harold

Harold no ſooner received information of William's arrival, than he haſted with the utmoſt expedition to London; which ſpeedy march ſo much harraſſed his army, that many, through diſcontent, deſerted from him. But ſo eager was he to oppoſe his enemies, that, when he came to London, he would not wait until the forces from Mercia and Northumberland ſhould join him, nor even to arm the Londoners and take them with him, but, with the army he had already got, marched inſtantly towards Haſtings, where he fought with his enemy, and, after one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody battles, the Engliſh were overcome; but not until Harold was himſelf ſlain, together with two of his brothers, Leofwin and Girth, and the greater part of the Saxon nobility ‡.

The burial of Harold.

Harold's mother, hearing of her ſon's unfortunate death, ſent meſſengers to the conqueror, with a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to redeem his body, that it might be decently interred. The meſſengers were very politely received by William, who refuſed the money they had brought, and gave them free permiſſion to take the body of the unfortunate king, and bear it to his mother. Beſoiled with duſt and blood, and ſtripped of its ornaments, it was ſome time before the body could be diſcovered from others of the ſlain, until a woman, named Editha, who had formerly been his concubine, iden-

* Chron. Sax. W. Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 13. Hoveden, &c.---We may add, that many of the ancient authors take occaſion here to cenſure Harold very ſeverely, affirming that he very unfairly ſeized upon the treaſure to himſelf, and refuſed to reward his ſoldiers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved him. This, if true, was a very impolitic ſtep in him, eſpecially conſidering the ſituation he was in, owing his ſupport entirely to the army.

† Malmsb. &c.

‡ Ibid.

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tified it by ſome particular marks that ſhe remembered him to have. When his mother received his body, ſhe cauſed it to be buried at Waltham, within the monaſtery of Holy Croſs, which he himſelf had founded *.

Character of Harold.

Harold was tall and graceful in his perſon, ſtrong, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Ancient hiſtorians are very much divided in the character they have given us of this prince; ſome of them ſpeak of him with commendation †, whilſt others have declared that he was proud, opiniated, cruel, vindictive, laſcivious, and avaricious ‡. But after all, eſpecially when we conſider his actions (as they are recorded) in a fair and impartial light, we ſhall certainly think that he has been too heavily accuſed, and that many of the vices of his family are laid upon his ſhoulders. His unbounded ambition, which led him to uſurp the throne, which belonged to another, ſeems truly to have been his greateſt fault §.

Wives and iſſue of Harold.

Harold was twice married, though the name of his firſt wife is no where recorded. The iſſue that he had by her ſeem to have been three ſons. The eldeſt, named Godwin, who was nearly advanced to manhood in the life-time of his father, after whoſe deceaſe he fled with his brothers into Ireland, from whence he returned ſome time after, and landing in Somerſetſhire, ſlew Ednoth, a nobleman of that country, who oppoſed him; and afterwards, taking great ſpoils in Devonſhire and Cornwall, went back to Ireland. The next year he came again into England, and fought againſt Beorn, earl of Cornwall, but with what ſucceſs is not well known; he went back, however, into Ireland, and from thence ſailed into Denmark, to Sweyne his couſin-german, at whoſe court he ſpent the reſt of his life.—Eadmund, the ſecond ſon, was the conſtant companion of his brother in all his expeditions, and went with him to Denmark, where he alſo finiſhed his days.—Magnus, the third ſon, was with his brothers at the time they firſt came into England, and returned with them; but afterwards he is no more mentioned, ſo that it is ſuppoſed he died between the time of the firſt and ſecond expedition.

The ſecond wife of Harold was Algitha, the widow of Griffith, king of Wales, and ſiſter to Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland. After the deceaſe of her huſband, ſhe was conveyed by her brethren to Wincheſter, where ſhe led a retired life, and died towards the latter end of the reign of the Conqueror.—Wolf appears to have been her only child by king Harold. He is thought to have been brought up by his uncle Morcar, and was living in the reign

* Malmsb. lib. 3.
† Allured Beverl. lib. 8. p. 122.--- Malmsb. &c.
‡ Bromton, Knyghton, &c.
§ W. Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

of

of William Rufus, who conferred the honour of knighthood upon him *.

* Copgrave gives Harold a daughter, named Gunhild, who (as he declares) in the life of St. Wolſtan, was a nun in one of the monaſteries of England; but we are not informed by which wife ſhe was.--- Another daughter, but ſuppoſed to have been illegitimate, is attributed to king Harold (mentioned in the Daniſh hiſtories) who is ſaid to have been brought up and married in Denmark. Sax. Grammat. &c.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART II.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Saxons, from the Acceſſion of Egbert to the Arrival of William Duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066.

ATHELARD, who about the year 976, ſucceeded Lambertius in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, was exceedingly diſcontented at the diviſion that had been made in his ſee ſome time before by Offa king of the Mercians, who had made all Mercia independent of the ſee of Canterbury, and, with the connivance of pope Adrian, erected an archbiſhopric within his own territories at Litchfield. Offa died in the year 796, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Egbert, who alſo died within the courſe of the ſame year, and left the Mercian crown to Cenelm Adulf, at that time poſſeſſing the new archbiſhopric of Litchfield. Cenelm, in the year 796, conquered the kingdom of Kent; and Athelard ſo far prevailed upon that prince, that notwithſtanding Adulf was yet alive, he gave his conſent for reuniting the two ſees, by reſtoring Mercia once more ſubject to the province of Canterbury. This decree of the king was ſome time after confirmed by the pope; for in the year 801, Athelard, who had been indefatigable in the cauſe, made a journey to Rome for that purpoſe. The conſent of the pope was eaſily obtained, and the letter that Cenelm ſent by the prelate to him, with a preſent of 120 mancuſſes, pleaſed him ſo much, that he returned anſwers to thoſe letters filled with flatteries to the king himſelf, whom he calls his moſt dear, moſt excellent, and moſt ſweet ſon. In theſe letters he was alſo laviſh in the praiſes of the archbiſhop, whoſe piety he extols ſo highly that he ſcru-

Cent. IX.

Mercia reſtored to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury.

ples

Cent. IX. ples not to declare, that he was able to reſcue all the ſouls of his province from the bottom of hell, and ſend them to heaven *.

Decrees of the pope approved of.

Athelard, after his return from Rome, ſummonſed a provincial council at Cloveſhoe in the year 803, where the ſuffragan biſhops being met, the decree of the pope for the reſtoration of Mercia to the ſee of Canterbury was laid before them, and approved of, and nothing leſs than damnation denounced againſt any prince that ſhould, from that time forth, attempt to infringe the privileges of the archbiſhops, or ſee of Canterbury †. Athelard, at the ſame time, laid before them another decree of the pope, forbidding the monaſtics to chuſe ſecular perſons for their governors, which was alſo confirmed and ſubſcribed to by himſelf, and his twelve ſuffragan biſhops, nineteen abbots, thirty-eight preſbyters, one archdeacon, and two deacons. This laſt decree added not a little to the wealth of the church, becauſe it had been formerly very cuſtomary for noblemen to have the government of monaſteries, and ladies of the nunneries, which were now put entirely into the hands of the eccleſiaſtics. In the mean time, though the whole archiepiſcopal power reverted into the hands of Athelard, yet Adulf was permitted to enjoy the empty honour of the pall during his life time ‡.

The council of Cealehythe.

Athelard did not long enjoy the honours which he had laboured to reſtore to his ſee, for dying about the year 807, he was ſucceeded by Wulfred, who had been a monk in Chriſt's church at Canterbury. This prelate convened a council, which met at Cealehythe on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, A. D. 816. Cenelm, king of Mercia, with the nobility and great officers of the realm, were alſo preſent on this occaſion. The canons eſtabliſhed in this council were eleven in number, and ſerve to throw great light upon the affairs of the Saxon church at this period.

Canons of Wulfred.

The firſt decrees, that the catholic faith, and ancient canons, be duly kept.

The ſecond, that new parochial churches be conſecrated by the biſhop of the dioceſe wherein they are built with holy water, and conſecration of the euchariſt; and that the picture of the ſaint, to whom it is dedicated, ſhould be painted upon the wall, or board, or elſe upon the altar.

The third, that Chriſtian charity and love be preſerved.

The fourth confirms to the biſhop, not only epiſcopal authority over all the monaſteries and nunneries within the dioceſe, but full power to appoint the abbots and abbeſſes with the conſent of the members of the ſocieties.

* Spelman. Concil. T. 1. p. 322.
† Ibid. p. 324.
‡ Baron Annal. An. 796. N. 33.

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The fifth exempts the Scotch clergy from exerciſing their offices in England; and the reaſon aſſigned is, that it is not known by whom ſuch clergy were ordained. Cent. IX.

The ſixth confirms ſuch acts of the preceding councils, as were ſigned with the croſs.

The ſeventh forbids the biſhops or abbots to alienate their lands for more than one life, except it be to preſerve themſelves from famine, from ſlavery, or from the depredations of the enemy.

The eighth requires that ſuch monaſteries as had been once dedicated by conſent of the biſhops, and wherein any monaſtic rule had been received, and the abbot or abbeſs had received benediction from the biſhop, ſhould remain monaſteries unalienable, and never more be eſteemed the property of ſecular perſons, nor inhabited by them.

The ninth obliges every biſhop to take a copy of the canons properly ſigned, witneſſed and dated.

The tenth directs the funeral and offices for a departed biſhop, and requires that a full tenth of his eſtates ſhould be given to the poor; that all his Engliſh ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that all honour may be done to his memory with giving praiſes to God; that upon tolling of the bell, at the ſeveral pariſh churches, the people ſhould repair to the church, and ſing thirty pſalms for the ſoul of the deceaſed; that every biſhop and abbot ſhould cauſe ſix hundred pſalms to be ſung, and one hundred and twenty maſſes to be celebrated, and ſet three ſlaves at liberty, giving each of them three ſhillings; that all the ſervants of God ſhould faſt one day; and that for thirty days, immediately after divine ſervice in every church, ſeven belts of pater-noſters ſhould be ſung for him *; and, finally, at the end of the thirty days, their obiit was to be celebrated in ſuch manner as they uſually obſerved on the feſtivals of their ſaints.

The eleventh required, that biſhops ſhould not invade the dioceſes of each other in ordaining of prieſts and deacons, or the conſecration of churches, excepting the archbiſhop; that the preſbyters ſhould not aſſume greater power to themſelves than was allowed them by the biſhop, nor intermeddle within the diſtrict of each other, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity, in adminiſtering baptiſm, or viſiting the ſick; and that in adminiſtering baptiſm, the child ſhould be dipped into the water, and not ſprinkled.

Several other councils were held under this primate, in which no very material buſineſs was done relative to the general laws and regulation of the affairs of the church. Wulfred died in the year 830, and was ſucceeded by Theogildus, abbot of Chriſt's Church, who

The end of the Heptarchy, and the conſequences that followed.

* Theſe belts or girdles (ſays Dr. Henry) had ſtuds for numbering the pater-noſters, as the roſaries, or ſtrings of beads do at preſent.

Cent. IX. dying in about three months after his predeceſſor, left the chair to Celnoth, deacon of the ſame church, who was choſen his ſucceſſor, and, during whoſe time, Egbert eſtabliſhed the ſole monarchy upon the ruins of the Heptarchy. By the whole kingdom being in the hands of one monarch, the clergy were delivered from many inconveniencies which had frequently happened to them while they were ſubject to different and contending princes. But they did not long enjoy the happy change without moleſtations; for the dreadful calamities occaſioned by the Danes in the ſucceeding periods, overbalanced the advantages, and involved them frequently in almoſt inſupportable calamities. The monaſteries, in general, being found by the Danes to be more opulent and better ſtored with booty than other places, was one great reaſon that they conſtantly fell a prey to that people whenever they ſtood in their way; nor were they content with only plundering the religious houſes, for being pagans, and bearing a great hatred to the Chriſtian religion, the miſerable monks were generally butchered by the mercileſs conquerors—or, at leaſt, the mildeſt fate they could expect was to be treated with every degree of inſolence and cruelty, and at laſt ſold for ſlaves. Theſe alarming calamities made a prodigious number of the monks abandon their profeſſion, many of them becoming ſoldiers, or following other methods of life which ſeemed to expoſe them to leſs danger than that they fled from; and ſuch as ſtill continued conſtant in their profeſſion, after the deſtruction of their monaſteries, retired to the villages and towns, where they might more ſecurely diſcharge the offices of their holy functions, and this diſperſion of the clergy neceſſarily produced a great change in their manners and way of life; for they had no longer objections to a married ſtate, which, whilſt many of them lived together, would have been productive of endleſs inconveniencies. They now, therefore, entered into a ſtate of marriage as the moſt comfortable and moſt convenient to their preſent circumſtances *; and this change in the way of life amongſt the clergy became ſo general, that before the end of the preſent century there were but few monaſteries or monks, and ſcarcely an unmarried prieſt in all England. During theſe diſaſterous times, we cannot expect to meet with many councils for making freſh laws, or regulating the affairs of the church.

Æthelwulf a benefactor to the clergy.

After the death of Egbert, which happened in the year 840, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Æthelwulf, ſucceeded him in the government of the kingdom. This prince, who had been educated and deſigned for the church, ſtill continued to have a great reſpect for the clergy, even after he aſcended the throne. He therefore conferred many favours upon them, the chief of which was the grant of the tenth of all the crown lands. In the ſeventh and eighth centuries,

* Inett's Hiſt. Engliſh Church, chap. 17.

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the Engliſh clergy had been ſupported by the produce of the lands which had been given to the church by kings, and other great men—by a tax of one Saxon penny on every houſe (which tax was called Church Scot)—and by the voluntary gifts of religious people. In the times of peace and tranquillity, their funds ſupplied them plentifully; but in the diſaſterous periods that followed, when the taxes were not duly paid, when their reſidences were deſtroyed, and the ſlaves, who tilled their ground, made priſoners, they were ſoon reduced to poverty and diſtreſs, which cauſed Æthelwulf, a man of great piety, to give them a more certain reſource for their ſubſiſtance; and it was with this view, that, in the year 844, he convened an aſſembly of the clergy and nobility at Wincheſter, and, with the conſent of the latter, made them the grant above-mentioned, of the tenth part of all the lands belonging the crown, free of all taxes whatever, even the three material obligations, of building and fortifying caſtles—repairing bridges, and attending upon any military expeditions *. In return for this bounty, the clergy were to do ſome additional duties, as every Wedneſday to ſing fifty pſalms in the church, and celebrate two maſſes, one for the king himſelf, and the other for the nobility, to whom they were indebted for their conſenting to the grant *. Cent. IX.

Æthelwulf, after his return from Rome, extended the grant he had formerly made to the clergy, to all the kingdoms that now compoſed the Engliſh monarchy; which was done in a great aſſembly at Wincheſter in the year 855, at which was preſent, beſides the king himſelf, Burhed, the tributary king of Mercia; Eadmund, the tributary king of the Eaſt Angles; the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, with all the other biſhops, clergy, nobles, and great men of the whole kingdom †. Æthelwulf extends his grant.

During the three ſucceeding reigns of the three ſons of Æthelwulf, nothing material concerning the eccleſiaſtical affairs can poſſibly be collected; for ſuch was the miſery and confuſion of that time, that no attention could be paid to them; nor, indeed, for the firſt ſeven years of Ælfred's reign, who ſucceeded his brothers, for they paſſed in the ſame calamitous manner. Thoſe few remaining monaſteries which had eſcaped the former invaſions of the Danes, were now deſtroyed, and the miſerable inhabitants either put to the ſword, or buried in the ruins of their own habitations. But, after the important victory gained over the Danes by Ælfred the Great, in the year 878, ſome ſtop was put to the outrages of that ſavage people. Godrun, the Daniſh leader, became a Chriſtian, and was baptized ſoon after, king Ælfred himſelf being ſponſor for him. His example was followed by thirty of the chief noblemen in the Daniſh army, who were thereupon received into favour by Ælfred, and, in conſequence of their having The Danes embrace Chriſtianity.

* Anglia Sacra, T. 1. p. 200. † Spelman. Concil. T. 1. p. 348.

 renounced

Cent. IX. renounced paganiſm, the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles was given to them, and Godrun became their king, holding that dominion under Ælfred *. The eccleſiaſtical laws which Ælfred compoſed at the time of the agreement between himſelf and Godrun, are yet remaining. The firſt article ordains, that the Danes ſhould renounce paganiſm, and agree in the worſhip of the true God. Thoſe who would not obey were commanded to quit the kingdom, which ſome few did, but the greater part remained behind, and followed the example of their king and the chief noblemen. The ſecond law impoſes a very heavy fine upon all ſuch as ſhould apoſtatize from Chriſtianity, and relapſe into paganiſm. The three following give rules for the conduct of the clergy. The ninth commands the payment of tythes; and thoſe that follow provide for the regular keeping of the faſts and feſtivals of the church, and particularly the religious obſervance of the Lord's Day. The laws are ſeventeen in number; and, in ſhort, there is none of them but what reſpect the intereſt of religion, the conduct of the clergy, or the prohibition of vices to which the Danes were moſt accuſtomed †.

Ælfred's laws for his own ſubjects.

Theſe laws of Ælfred were ſuch as regarded chiefly the Danes and the Saxons amongſt whom they lived. But beſides theſe, that great prince had another code of laws for his own ſubjects, ſome few of which related to the church. It is remarkable, that theſe laws are preceeded by the Ten Commandments, in which the ſecond is omitted; but that the number might be compleat after the ninth, the following ſhort one is ſubjoined—"Make not thou gods of gold or of ſilver;" and this omiſſion of the ſecond commandment ſeems to be a plain proof that images, at this time, were become the objects of worſhip. About this period alſo, as appears from ſome of the above laws, the clergy, in order to add a myſterious ſolemnity to the celebration of the maſs, during the time of Lent, cauſed a curtain to be placed before the altar whilſt they performed that office; but the people being thus excluded from ſeeing what was paſſing, were apt to be lifting up, or tearing it aſide, which is there forbidden under pain of a heavy penalty. Another of theſe laws gives ſervants, notſlaves, the privilege of working for themſelves two and forty days during the year ‡.

Monaſteries reſtored by king Ælfred.

As ſoon as king Ælfred had ſecured the peace of his ſubjects, he began to repair the churches and monaſteries that had been deſtroyed, and even to build new ones; but ſo dreadfully was the ideas of a monkiſh life impreſſed upon the minds of the clergy in general, owing to the aggravated ſtories that were told of their late miſeries, that it was a long time before they could be prevailed upon to return to it; ſo that Ælfred was obliged to ſend for monks from France, and other countries, to inhabit thoſe places he had firſt repaired §; but, in the

* Chron. Sax. & Aſſerii Annal.
† Spelm. Concil. Brit. T. 1. p. 375.
‡ Concil. Brit. v. 1. p. 371, &c.
§ Aſſerii Vit. Ælfredi.

end,

end, when the Saxon clergy ſaw that peace was eſtabliſhed upon a certain foundation, they, by degrees, returned to the monaſteries they had left, and a prodigious number of them having married during their retreat, brought their wives and children with them, ſo that almoſt all the monaſteries and abbies were filled with a kind of ſecular or married monks, which was the lamentable occaſion of many dreadful commotions in the ſucceeding times. Cent. IX.

From the general decay of learning that prevailed during the tenth century, it was reproachfully called the Leaden Age. Dark ignorance and ſuperſtition were ſpread over almoſt all the weſtern church, and that the ſame ſhould prevail in England at this period is not at all ſurpriſing, if we conſider what muſt be the conſequence of the calamities and confuſion that were occaſioned by the frequent revolts of the Danes who were ſettled in England, and the conſtant invaſion of their countrymen from abroad; for in times ſo wretched as theſe, how could the intereſts of learning or religion be attended to! Cent. X. The Age of lead.

For this reaſon, perhaps, Edward the Elder, who ſucceeded his father in the year 900, might ſuffer certain biſhoprics to lie vacant for a while, which gave birth, in after ages, to a formal ſtory of an interdict ſaid to have been laid upon the land by pope Formoſus, by which Edward and all his ſubjects were excommunicated until the vacant ſees were filled up; but the whole of the ſtory ſeems to have been the invention of the monks of the latter times, or at leaſt made formidable by them by being miſrepreſented; for if there ever was the leaſt ground for this report, it ſeems only to have ariſen from ſome admonitions which it is probable Edward might have received from the court of Rome; but conſidering the ſtory in its full extent, its abſurdity is abundantly evident, becauſe pope Formoſus was in his grave at leaſt four years before the acceſſion of Edward to the throne, and near eight before the time aſſigned for the pretended interdict *. An interdict ſaid to have been laid upon the kingdom of England.

It is however certain that king Edward, as ſoon as the public troubles were ſubſided, filled up all the ſees that were vacant, and erected three new ones within the kingdom of Weſſex, one at Kirton in Devonſhire, another at Padſtow in Cornwall, and a third at Wells in Somerſetſhire; and the ſame year, 809, Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, conſecrated no leſs than ſeven biſhops in one day, namely, Fridſtan of Wincheſter, Wereſtan of Sherborn, Cenulf of Dorcheſter, Eadulf of Kirton, Æthelſtan of Padſtow, Beornoc of Selſey, and Athelm of Wells †. Seven biſhops conſecrated in one day.

* Inett's Church Hiſtory, chap. 18, and Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 184.

† Anglia Sacra, p. 555.

The

Cent. X.

The Danes in the East Angles revolt.

The Danes who inhabited the Eaſt Angles, and who had adhered to the Chriſtian religion during the reign of king Ælfred, after his death, not only rebelled againſt king Edward his ſucceſſor, but alſo apoſtatized from their faith, and again embraced their idolatrous doctrines; but in the year 921, Edward reduced them to obedience, obliged them to renounce paganiſm, and return to the Chriſtian faith, and the obſervance of thoſe laws which his father had preſcribed for them*.

Councils called of Æthelſtan.

From this period to the year 928, we hear but little of the eccleſiaſtical affairs, at which time Æthelſtan ſat upon the throne; and though his reign was almoſt one continual ſcene of war and confuſion, yet he neglected not the examples of his grandfather and father, who had carefully provided for the defence of the church as well as of the ſtate; and though the dates and reſults of moſt of the councils he held, except that of Gratanlea, are not recorded, it is certain that he held at leaſt four others of the ſame kind at the following places, namely, Exeter, Feverſham, Thunderfield and London †.

Council of Gratanlea.

By the remaining laws that were eſtabliſhed at Gratanlea, ſome judgment may be formed of what we had to expect, if the proceedings of the other councils had been preſerved. This council, which was held in the year 928, is one of the mix'd councils wherein the nobility, as well as clergy, were preſent, and the laws themſelves conſiſt of civil and eccleſiaſtical matters blended together. Wulfhelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſided at this ſynod; and beſides him and the biſhops, the king himſelf, and many of the nobles and wiſe men, who had been ſummoned by the king, were preſent ‡.

Canons eſtabliſhed at the council of Gratanlea.

The firſt canon commands the payment of tythes on all the king's own lands; and alſo commands every alderman and biſhop to pay tythes of their lands, both of the cattle and corn; and that this ſhould be declared as the law of England by thoſe who had authority to do ſo.

The ſecond commands the continuation of payment of the church ſcot where it was due; ſo that it appears, even after the grant of tythes to the clergy by king Æthelwulf, they did not relinquiſh any of their former revenues.

The third law enjoins the officers of the crown to make proviſion for the poor from the king's own eſtate; that is, every one of his reeves was to maintain a poor Engliſhman from every two of his farms, by the bounty of one amber of meal, one hog, a ram, with four-pence every month and a mantle, or, inſtead of it, thirty-pence annually for his cloathing; and all this was to be done for the forgiveneſs of the king's ſins, and the ſalvation of his ſoul.

The fourth directs the puniſhment of ſabbath-breakers.

The fifth denounces ſevere penalties againſt ſorcery and witchcraft.

* Spel. Concil. p. 390. † Ibid. p. 407. ‡ Ibid. t. 1. p. 401.

The

The ſixth contains ſome regulation relative to the coinage of money. Cent. X.
The ſeventh and the eighth treat on the manner and circumſtances of the ordeals, or trials by fire or water.
The ninth decrees, that no fairs, markets, or courts of judicature, ſhould be held upon the Lord's day.
The tenth preſcribes the puniſhment for perjury.
The eleventh law is a ſort of charge to the biſhops and clergy, relative to the diſcharge of their reſpective duties, thoſe eſpecially which reſpected the peace and welfare of the ſubject, and ſerved to eſtabliſh juſtice amongſt the people in general; and herein, according to the ancient Saxon uſage, the biſhops were commanded to be perſonally preſent at all the courts of judicature within their dioceſe, to over-ſee and direct the conduct of the judges; they were alſo to viſit their people, and inſtruct them; and to them alſo the charge of ſurveying the ſtandards for weights and meaſures was committed.
The twelfth canon decrees that fifty pſalms ſhould be ſung every Friday morning, in every monaſtery and cathedral church, for the king and his people.
The thirteenth aſcertains the fines chargeable on offenders in caſe of blood *.

Wulfhelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died in the year 234, and was ſucceeded by Odo, biſhop of Sherborn.—The hiſtory of this prelate is not a little extraordinary. He was the ſon of a very wealthy Dane who was ſettled in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, but was turned out of doors by his parents, who were bigotted Pagans, for his conſtant attendance upon the Chriſtian church: in this condition he was taken notice of by Athelm, a Saxon nobleman of the firſt rank, who, being pleaſed with his genius and good parts, entertained him in his houſe, and beſtowed a liberal education upon him, which he as carefully improved. Soon after, by the intereſt of Athelm, he was put into holy orders, and, by the dint of his merit, was ſpeedily promoted from one ſtep to another, until he was created biſhop of Sherborn. He was not only a learned eccleſiaſtic, but alſo, being of a martial ſpirit, he followed his ſovereign, king Æthelſtan, in his wars, and was preſent with him at the famous battle of Brananburgh, where his aſſiſtance contributed not a little to the attainment of the victory. Upon the deceaſe of Wulfhelm, Odo was choſen to ſucceed him in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; but, according to the declarations of the monks in after times, he refuſed at firſt, becauſe he was not a monk †, but being over-perſuaded, he at laſt accepted of the honour that was offered him.—Odo was a wiſe and active prelate, and a man Life of Odo.

* Spel. Concil, T. 1. p. 402.
† This tale is juſtly ſuſpected to have been added by the Monks, who neglected no opportunities of giving conſequence to their own profeſſion.

of

Cent. X. of great ſpirit: his zeal, which was fervent in the cauſe of religion, ſeems to have been very ſincere, although he frequently carried matters with a very high hand, as is evident not only from his actions, but from his paſtoral letter to the clergy and people of his province *, which was publiſhed A. D. 943. He ſpeaks in a tone of vaſt authority, commanding that none ſhould tax the clergy, whom he calls the ſons of God, and declaring that all ſuch as diſobeyed the orders of the church were ſtill more hardened in their wickedneſs than the ſoldiers that crucified Chriſt. He alſo lays his ſtrict command upon the king, and princes under him, to obey with great humility the orders of the archbiſhops and biſhops, declaring that to their keeping the keys of the kingdom of heaven were committed.

Canons of Wulfhelm.

Beſides the above-mentioned conſtitutions, which were publiſhed by the authority of Odo alone, there are ſeveral canons that were made in a great council of the clergy and nobility, convened in the reign of king Eadmund at London, A. D. 944, in which that archbiſhop preſided †.—Theſe canons, which are ſix in number, are chiefly as follow:

The firſt requires that all the clergy ſhould ſet a good example to the laity, by the purity of their manners, and the juſtneſs and devoutneſs of their lives; and declares, that all ſuch as broke this canon ſhould forfeit all their goods, and be deemed unworthy of Chriſtian burial.

The ſecond commands the payment of tythes, church ſcot, and other taxes due to the church, on pain of excommunication.

The third required, that ſuch perſons as had been guilty of murder ſhould give ſatisfaction to the biſhop of the dioceſe for the offence done to the church, before they ſhould preſume to come into the preſence of the king.

The fourth pronounced, that the pollution of a nun was equal to adultery; accordingly the ſame penalty was to be inflicted, and the offender was declared to be unworthy of Chriſtian burial.

The fifth commanded all the biſhops to repair and ornament all the churches in their own demeſne lands, and alſo to admoniſh the king to do the ſame to thoſe that belonged to him.

By the laſt canon, thoſe who forſwore themſelves, together with thoſe who offered ſacrifices to falſe gods, ſhould be excommunicated.

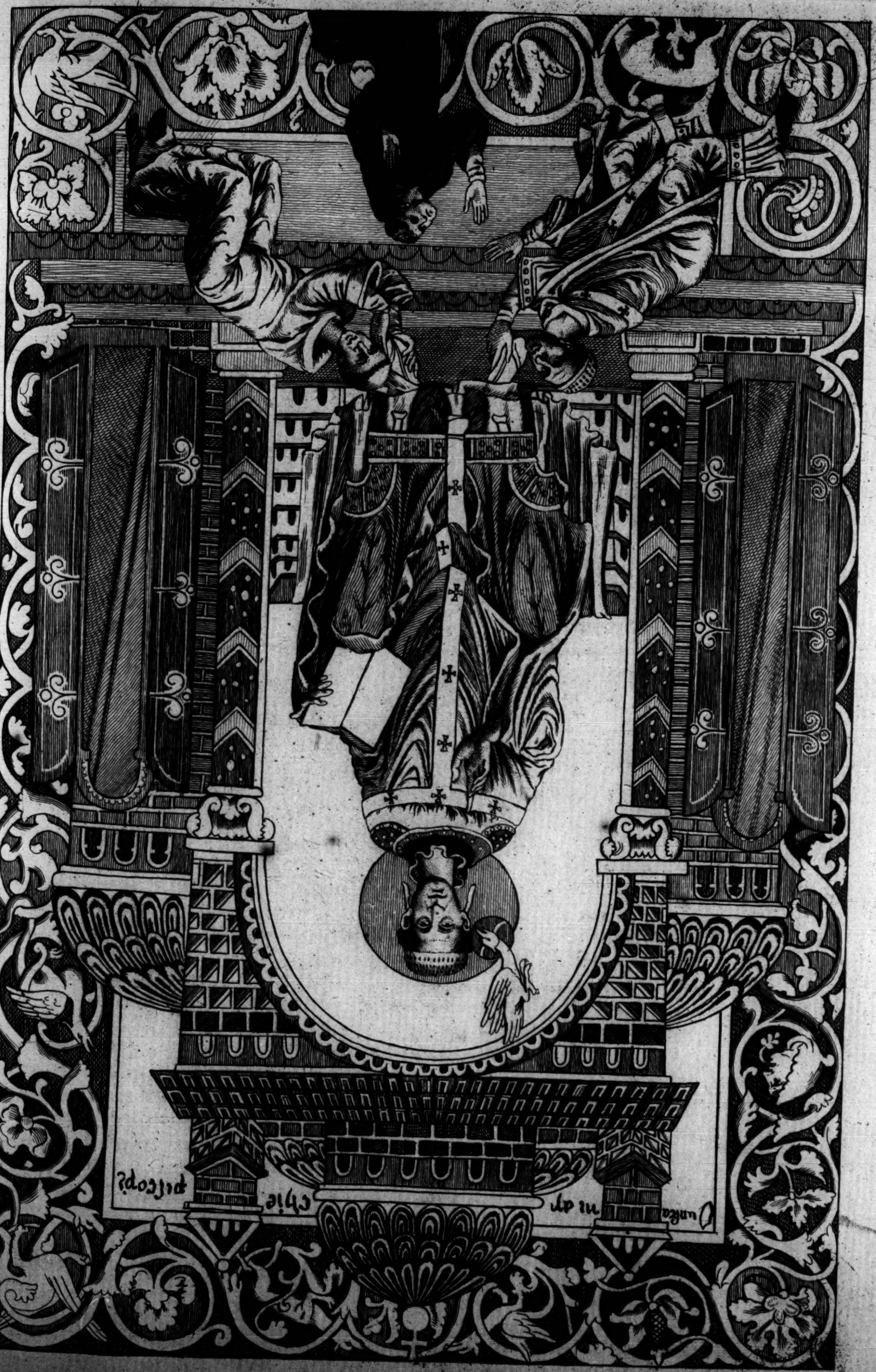
Beſides theſe ſix canons, there was a law made in the reign of king Eadmund, directing the manner of eſpouſals and ſolemnities of marriage.

Somewhere about this period, the Eccleſiaſtical Synod is ſuppoſed to have been held at York, in which the clergy were ſubjected to ſeveral very heavy fines, for various offences, and particularly the eſtabliſhed

* Commonly called the Conſtitutions of Odo.

† Concil. Brit. T. 1, pag. 419.

canons;


Vnica ne dn chie prtcop;

canons; and, in order to ſecure the payment of theſe fines, every clergyman was obliged, at his admiſſion into holy orders, to procure twelve creditable bondſmen. As the kingdom of Northumberland was chiefly inhabited by the Danes, the fines were all to be paid in the Daniſh oras, or ounces of ſilver, and are as follows: If a prieſt celebrate maſs in an unhallowed houſe, let him pay twelve oras; the like penalty was fixed for performing the ſame upon an unhallowed altar; the ſame alſo if he conſecrated the ſacramental wine in a wooden chalice, or celebrated the maſs without wine. All theſe fines, which were very heavy, when the ſcarcity of ſilver is conſidered, were to be paid to the biſhop of the dioceſe wherein ſuch offence had been committed *. Cent. X.

In the year 941 Dunſtan was recalled to court by king Eadmund, and made abbot of Glaſtonbury. This extraordinary perſon ſeems to have been deſcended from a noble family in Weſſex, and was educated at Glaſtonbury, where the ſwift progreſs he made in every kind of learning, ſoon recommended him to the notice of the higher clergy, ſo that, in his very early age, he was introduced by Athelm, his uncle, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, to king Æthelſtan, into whoſe favour he ſo ingratiated himſelf, that he was retained in the court of that prince, by whom he was frequently employed in affairs of conſequence. Dunſtan's talent for muſic alſo contributed not a little to the obtaining the favour of Æthelſtan, whom he often amuſed with playing upon the harp, and other muſical inſtruments. In order to raiſe himſelf ſtill higher in the eſteem of the prince and his courtiers, he not only pretended to great ſanctity, but now and then performed ſome miracle, which gained him great admiration. However, theſe wonderful performances ſoon excited the envy of others, who had not cunning enough to delude the people in the ſame manner, and they perſuaded the king, that all theſe miracles were performed by the aſſiſtance of the devil, and that Dunſtan, inſtead of being a ſaint, was a wicked magician. This unfavourable inſinuation againſt Dunſtan ſoon gained ground in the mind of Æthelſtan, who, therefore, baniſhed him from the court, and he retired to a cell at Glaſtonbury †, from whence he was recalled by Eadmund, as we have mentioned above. Some account of S. Dunſtan.

After a reign of five years, Eadmund died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Eadred, who aſcended the throne, A. D. 946, and following the example of his predeceſſor, gave great encouragement to the monks, and, at the interceſſion of Turkitil, his chancellor, he granted ſeveral privileges to the monaſtery of Croyland, and conſtituted him the firſt abbot thereof. Dunſtan, who had ſtood very high in the favour of Eadmund, was now held in ſuch eſteem by Eadred, that he Dunſtan's advancement.

* Johnſon's Canons. † Oſbernus de Vita S. Dunſtani, &c.

Cent. X. made him his confeſſor, his confidant, and, indeed, in a word, his prime miniſter.

Dunſtan favours the monks. During this period, Dunſtan employed all his intereſt in favour of the Benedictine monks, of which order he himſelf was a member; and as he had all the treaſures of Eadred in his poſſeſſion, he ſoon waſted them in building and repairing monaſteries for the reception of theſe monks, all which he richly endowed. Not contented with this, he perſuaded the king to bequeath ſuch a profuſion of wealth to the churches and monaſteries, that the crown was ſtripped of the greater part of its valuable poſſeſſions*.

Dunſtan baniſhed. After the death of Eadred, which happened A. D. 955, his nephew Eadwig ſucceeded, who deteſted Dunſtan for his inſolencies whilſt he was in power, and his haughty behaviour to him with regard to his concubine, or wife Elfgiva; ſo that ſoon after he was ſeated upon the throne, he deprived the abbot of all his preferments, and baniſhed him the kingdom; after which he expelled the monks from ſeveral of their monaſteries, and placed the married clergy in their benefices. But theſe proceedings being diſtaſteful to his ſubjects, Eadgar, his brother, rebelled againſt him, and being confirmed in the government of all the provinces northward of the Thames, he recalled Dunſtan, and made him biſhop of Worceſter in the year 957; and two years after, Eadgar became ſole monarch by the death of his brother Eadwig. Dunſtan then enjoyed the ſame degree of power and authority which he had poſſeſſed in the reign of Eadred †.

The advancement of Dunſtan. Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died about the year 958, ſome time before the deceaſe of Eadwig, and the ſee of that primate lying within the part of the kingdom that Eadwig had been permitted to hold, the archbiſhopric was by him conferred upon Eliſi, biſhop of Wincheſter; but he dying in his paſſage towards Rome, Brithelm, biſhop of Wells, was appointed to ſucceed him. However, he had ſcarcely taken his ſeat before the death of Eadwig opened the way for Eadgar to the poſſeſſion of his brother's dominions, and as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, Brithelm was obliged to quit his archbiſhopric in order to make room for Dunſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, the great favourite of the king; and Brithelm, as a man unfit for the performance of that high office, was ſent back to the biſhopric of Wells, from whence he came ‡.

The meaſures purſued by Dunſtan in favour of the monks. Dunſtan thus raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury by the favour of his prince, haſted to Rome for the pall, with which he returned the year following, A. D. 961; and now he turned all his thoughts to the completion of the great deſign he had formed of driving all the married clergy from their monaſteries, and placing monks of the Benedictine

* Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 316.
† Malmſb. l. 2. c. 7.
‡ Godwin de Præſul. Angl. p. 73.

order

order in their room; and as he was well aſſured of the concurrence of his prince, he ſtill hoped to accompliſh his deſigns, in ſpite of all the oppoſition he foreſaw would be made by the great body of the biſhops and clergy, who were averſe to his undertaking. His firſt care was, therefore, to fill the vacant biſhoprics with ſuch men as would adopt his meaſures. With this view he obtained the biſhopric of Worceſter, which became vacant at his own advancement, for Oſwald, an Engliſhman by birth, who had been educated as a monk at Fleury in France. This prelate proved a vigorous patron of the monks, and a violent perſecutor of the married clergy. About two years after Dunſtan, procured the biſhopric of Wincheſter, then vacant, for Ethelwald, one who had been made a monk by Dunſtan himſelf (whilſt he was abbot of Glaſtonbury.) After which he rebuilt the monaſtery of Abingdon, and was made abbot thereof*. Cent. X.

The ſecular clergy driven from their monaſteries.

Dunſtan, having thus procured two ſuch powerful advocates, in order to forward his deſigns, ſet about building ſeveral monaſteries; and theſe three great champions of the monks began to put their undertaking in execution, uſing all the perſuaſions they were maſters of, to prevail upon the ſecular clergy to put away their wives, and to take the monaſtic vows and habits. Finding, however, ſoon after, that their perſuaſions were by no means effectual, they proceeded to acts of violence and oppreſſion. Ethelwald began with the canons of his own cathedral; for finding that all arguments were in vain, he one day turned all thoſe out of the church who would not inſtantly comply with his orders, viz. to take up the monkiſh habits, and forſake their wives and children. Theſe unfortunate clergymen, whoſe affection for their families had prevailed over their intereſt, were thus at once reduced to beggary and want, when, inſtead of meeting with any pity from their oppreſſors, they were loaded with a thouſand opprobrious names †. Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, ſoon after followed the example of Ethelwald; but he was not quite ſo mercileſs in the execution of his deſigns; for though he expelled the married clergy from ſeven monaſteries within his dioceſe, and at laſt forced thoſe away alſo that were within the cathedral of Worceſter by ſome kind of fraud we are not acquainted with, yet he condeſcended to allow them a ſmall pittance for their maintenance ‡, which was indeed but juſt enough to keep them from ſtarving. In the mean time, Dunſtan, and his aſſociates, in order to countenance their tyrannical proceedings, charged the ſecular clergy with the moſt heinous crimes, declaring, that their cohabitation with their wives was highly offenſive to God; at the ſame time, they carefully magnified the virtue of their own celibacy; and, in order to ſtrengthen their cauſe, they had recourſe to a thouſand falſities, which were backed by miracles, and pretended viſions, moſt

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. c. 19. † Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 219, ‡ Ibid. p. 200.

Cent. X. of them ſo groſs, that one would naturally wonder, whether their impudence or the credulity of the people was the moſt ridiculous. By theſe, and ſuch deluſive machinations, theſe three furious champions of celibacy, in the courſe of a little time, filled eight and forty monaſteries with Benedictine monks *.

Eadgar ſeconds the eccleſiaſtics in the expulſion of the married clergy.

All this was done under the auſpices of Eadgar, who was himſelf a vicious prince, and ſtopped at nothing to gratify his own paſſions; yet he was ſo far prevailed upon by theſe three tyrannical eccleſiaſtics, that he ſeemed even more forward than themſelves to depreſs the ſecular clergy; ſo that in the year 969, he gave them a formal commiſſion to expel them all from the monaſteries and cathedrals, declaring, that he himſelf would uſe all his endeavours to aſſiſt them, and, at the ſame time, he delivered a furious ſpeech, in which he arraigns the married clergy, and loads them with the moſt heinous accuſations, ſtrictly commanding the holy father Dunſtan to proceed to blows, aſſiſted by the venerable Ethelwald, and the moſt reverend Oſwald—adding, that to thoſe three he committed the execution of that important work, adviſing them to ſtrike boldly, and drive thoſe men that were guilty of ſuch great exceſſes from the church of Chriſt, and place others in their ſtead who were holy, and would conform to the religious rules. But let us reflect upon the propriety of this thundering ſpeech in the defence of chaſtity, coming from the mouth of a libidinous monarch, who had not long before raviſhed a nun, a young lady of great beauty, and of noble parentage. This ſcandalous action, however, provoked his confeſſor Dunſtan ſo much that he enjoined him, by way of penance, not to wear his crown for ſeven years; alſo, that he ſhould build a nunnery; and, after all, to proſecute the ſecular clergy to the utmoſt of his power. All this he religiouſly performed †.

Eccleſiaſtical laws of Eadgar.

As Eadgar was entirely under the influence of Dunſtan, and his two aſſociates, the laws for the regulation of the affairs of the church were not neglected by him. His eccleſiaſtical laws and canons ſeem in general to have been ſuch as were both juſt and neceſſary, when we conſider the time in which they were made. They are ſix, and their tenor as follows:

The firſt requires the payment of tythes.

The ſecond explains the true nature of the church ſcot, and proves it to be a ſtated payment ariſing from the houſe of every freeman—it alſo ſhews how tythes ſhould be paid where a burying-place is annexed to the church, as alſo where there is not.

The third appoints the time for the payment of tythes.

The fourth propoſes the remedy for the neglect of either of the two following laws.

* Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 201.

† Spelman Concil. T. 1, p. 482.

The

The fifth commands the payment of the Peter pence. Cent. X.
And the ſixth requires the Lord's day to be kept holy *.

The canons, which are known by the name of Eadgar's canons, are ſixty-ſeven in number. The eleventh commands every prieſt to learn ſome mechanical art, and alſo to teach it to ſuch young men as were diſciples under him. The ſixteenth forbids the worſhip of trees, ſtones and fountains, with other remaining rites of pagan ſuperſtition. The ſeventeenth requires, that every Chriſtian ſhould teach his children the Belief and the Lord's prayer. The twenty-ſecond forbids any one to become a godfather, or to receive the ſacrament, until he had firſt learnt the offices. The fifty-fourth recommends the clergy to be frequent in their admonition to the people, that they might honeſtly and juſtly pay the church dues, and alſo at their proper times; as their plough alms, fifteen nights before Eaſter; their tythes of young animals at Pentecoſt; their tythes of corn at All-ſaints; their Peter pence at Lammas; and their church-ſcot at Martinmas. Subjoined to theſe canons is a penitential, ſuppoſed to have been the compoſition of Dunſtan, which requires a very particular confeſſion from the penitents of all the ſins done by their bodies, their ſkin, their fleſh, their bones, their ſinews, their reins, their griſtles, their tongues, their lips, their palates, their teeth, their hair, their marrow, or by every thing hard, or ſoft, wet, or dry; and the principal penants are as follow: To be prohibited the uſe of arms; to be enjoined long pilgrimages; to forbid the tarrying two nights in one place, to forbid the cutting of the hair, the paring of the nails, the uſe of a warm bath, the repoſing on a ſoft bed; to forbid the eating fleſh, or drinking ſtrong liquors; alſo to enjoin to ſuch as could afford it, the building and endowing of churches, or the like; faſtings for ſeveral years were frequently impoſed by way of penance; but theſe might eaſily be eluded by the rich; for a man might redeem a year's faſting for thirty ſhillings, or a great man, who had many ſervants and dependants, might put an end to a ſeven year's faſt in three days by procuring eight hundred and fifty men to faſt that time for him upon bread, water, and vegetables †. This plainly ſhews the relaxation of the church government in the preſent period; for this method of faſting by proxy was juſtly condemned in the council of Cloveſhoe, A. D. 747 ‡.

Canons of Eadgar.

After the death of Eadgar, ſome check was put to the proceedings of the three eccleſiaſtical champions, who, during the reign of that prince, had been very ſucceſsful in the expulſion of the ſecular canons from the monaſteries and cathedrals; for the miſeries to which the married clergy had been expoſed, excited the compaſſion of many of the nobility; but none ſeemed more touched with their misfor-

Eadgar's death a check to the deſigns of Dunſtan.

* Inett's Church Hiſt. chap. 19.
† Spel. Concil. T. 1. p. 443—478.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 197.

tunes

Cent. X. tunes than Elfric, earl of Mercia, who, immediately after the deceaſe of Eadgar, would no longer permit the inſolencies of the monks, but drove them all out of the monaſteries throughout his extenſive earldom, and reinſtated the ſecular clergy. In the mean time, Elfwin, duke of the Eaſt Angles, who was a ſtout champion for the monks, joined by Brithnot, earl of Eſſex, vented all their ſpleen againſt the ſecular clergy in their earldoms, and treated them, if poſſible, with ſtill greater rigour than they had experienced in the life-time of Eadgar. To quiet theſe commotions, which ſeemed likely to produce a civil war, ſeveral councils were held, in order that the matter might be ſolemnly debated, and fairly decided. In theſe councils, it ſeems, Dunſtan, and his party, were ſo powerfully oppoſed by the ſecular canons, that he was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of ſome of his holy miracles to ſupport his cauſe. In one of the councils held at the old monaſtery at Wincheſter, A. D. 977, the affair was debated with great warmth, and the oppoſite party ſo far prevailed by their arguments, that almoſt all the eccleſiaſtics were inclined to conclude the diſpute in favour of the ſecular canons, and to order their reſtoration to their ſeveral monaſteries; but whilſt the whole council was ſilent, waiting the anſwer of Dunſtan, on a ſudden a loud voice, ſeeming to proceed from a crucifix, built in the partition wall, was heard to utter theſe words, "Do not do it!—Do not do it!—You formerly did well!—Do not change now!"—The council was inſtantly put into the greateſt conſternation; and Dunſtan riſing up ſaid, "My brethren, what would ye have more?—Have ye not heard the preſent affair decided by divine ſentence *?"—The aſſembly was then broke up in confuſion, and nothing concluded upon; for though the oppoſite party were ſtartled at the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, yet they were far from being convinced. Therefore, not long after, another council was held at Calne in Wiltſhire, A. D. 978, where, whilſt the matter was under debate, and warmly argued on both ſides, the timber that ſupported the floor where the ſecular canons ſtood, gave way ſuddenly, by which unfortunate accident the greater part of them were hurt, and ſeveral of them killed; and, in the mean time, Dunſtan, and thoſe that ſided with him, ſtanding upon the main beam that ſupported the chamber, and which remained immoveable, eſcaped without being hurt. Thus was this council alſo brought to an end†; but if theſe events did really happen, and in the manner already mentioned, it muſt convey to our minds a very unfavourable idea of Dunſtan, as well as of the ſuperſtition and blindneſs of thoſe times. It ſeems, that even this laſt accident could not convince the canons; and whilſt the friends of Dunſtan declared that it was a juſt judgment of God upon the canons for their obſtinacy, and a plain manifeſtation of his will, the other

* Spel. Concll. T. 1. p. 490. † Ibid. p. 494, & Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 112.

party

party failed not to run into the other extreme, and accuſed Dunſtan of magic. Cent. X.

The troubles of the kingdom put a ſtop to church matters.

What ſteps Dunſtan and his adherents purſued againſt the ſeculars from this time, does not appear; but ſuch was the ſtate of the debates at the time of Edward's murder, and, indeed, in a few years after the acceſſion of Æthelred, the kingdom was involved in ſuch deſperate calamities, occaſioned by the frequent and deſtructive invaſions of the Danes, that little attention could be paid to the affairs of the church. Indeed, the fame of Dunſtan, and his two aſſiſtants, Oſwald and Æthelwald, who are all ſainted by their hiſtorians, engroſſed ſo much attention, that the acts of the other biſhops, or even their names, are ſcarcely known.

Death of Æthelwald.

About the year 984, Æthelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, died; and his death, whilſt it gave great uneaſineſs to the monks, was highly pleaſing to the canons whom he had diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe they now entertained a hope of being again reſtored. They therefore employed all their intereſt to procure the election of a clergyman of their own order; but they were diſappointed by the ſuperior art of Dunſtan, who pretended that St. Andrew appeared to him in a viſion, and appointed Elphegus, abbot of Bath, to ſucceed Æthelwald. By this means he carried his point, to the great joy of the monks, and diſappointment of the diſtreſſed ſeculars *.

Death of Dunſtan.

Four years after the deceaſe of Æthelwald, Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this life, A. D. 988, (having held the biſhopric of London, with the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, near twenty-ſeven years) leaving behind him the title of the Father and Reſtorer of the Monks; and they in return for ſuch high favour, on their part, have not been backward in gracing his memory with ſuch wonderful encomiums, that his very ſhrine became, in after ages, the object of worſhip and adoration. Beſides his frequent conteſts and victories over the devil, his miracles are all laid before us, and the particular favour that God ſhewed towards him; all which are ſo groſs and abſurd in their relation, that one cannot help being aſtoniſhed at the impudence and irreligion of his biographers, who have ſeriouſly told ſo many open and bare-faced falſities †.

Upon

* Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 221.

† Let the following impious ſtory ſtand as a proof; it is told by his biographer Oſborn (Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 114, 115), and afterwards repeated by Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, in his life of this primate. It is, as follows, tranſlated by Dr. Henry: "The moſt admirable, the "moſt ineſtimable Father Dunſtan, whoſe "perfections exceeded all human imagi-"nation, was admitted to behold the Mo-"ther of God, and his own mother, in "eternal glory; for before his death, he "was carried up into heaven to be pre-"ſent at the nuptials of his own mother "with the eternal King, which were ce-"lebrated by the angels with the moſt "ſweet and joyous ſongs.---When the an-"gels reproached him for his ſilence on "this great occaſion, ſo honourable to his "mother, he excuſed himſelf on account "of his being unacquainted with thoſe "ſweet

Cent. X.

Succeſſion to the ſee of Canterbury.

Upon the deceaſe of Dunſtan, Ethelgar, late abbot of the new monaſtery of Wincheſter, and at this time biſhop of Seolſey, ſucceeded to the chair of Canterbury; but dying the following year, he was ſucceeded by Siricius, biſhop of Wilton, who held the government of that ſee about four years. Both theſe primates had been monks in the abbey of Glaſtonbury; but, from the confuſion of the times, and the ſhortneſs of their pontificates, nothing memorable ſeems to have been done by either.

Death of Oſwald.

About three years after the death of Dunſtan, Oſwald (the longeſt ſurvivor of the three furious champions for the monks) deceaſed. This prelate held the biſhopric of Worceſter, to which he had been firſt elected even after his promotion to the archbiſhopric of York*, which honour he enjoyed a conſiderable time before his death. He was ſucceeded in both his ſees by Aldulf, abbot of Peterborough.—Oſwald, in holding two ſees at once, only followed the example of his friend Dunſtan, who held thoſe of London and Cauterbury at the ſame time.—This mercenary proceeding, which was certainly contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of the church, ſtill adds to the unfavourable ideas we have already had ſo much cauſe to entertain of theſe holy ſaints.

Wretched ſtate of the nation.

From this period to the end of the tenth century, the ſtate was involved in ſuch a continual ſcene of trouble and confuſion, that no affairs relative to the church could be attended to, or, if they were, they are not tranſmitted down to us.—The miſerable calamities that fell upon the Engliſh nation at the latter end of this century, and the beginning of the eleventh, are (not without juſt reaſon) in a great meaſure aſcribed to the prevalent zeal for a monaſtic life, by which the kingdom was deprived of many of its moſt able protectors, and impoveriſhed by the continual ſums that were laviſhed upon the monaſteries and cathedrals†. Indeed, ſo blinded were the people, that in the latter end of the reign of Æthelred, A. D. 1014, it was decreed in council, that every perſon who was of age ſhould go bare-foot to church upon the feaſt of Saint Michael, having previouſly faſted three days upon bread, water, and raw herbs, and confeſſed of their ſins; and alſo that every prieſt, with his whole congregation, ſhould three days ſucceſſively go bare-foot in ſolemn proceſſion. The monks and nuns, in their monaſteries, were commanded to celebrate the maſs againſt the Pagans at every canonical hour, when they were to lay proſtrate on the ground, and ſing this pſalm: "Lord, how are they

"ſweet and heavenly ſtrains: but being "a little inſtructed by the angels, he broke "out into this melodious ſong, *O King! "Ruler of Nations,*" &c. One would almoſt have thought it impoſſible that ſo ſhocking a ſtory ſhould have been written ſeriouſly, or ever believed.

* Godwin de Præſul. Angl. p. 75.

† Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1.

increaſed

increaſed that trouble me!*" vainly imagining that due obſervance of ſuch ceremonies as theſe, would be more efficacious in deſtroying of their enemies, than the repeated efforts of their armies. Cent. X.

Near the cloſe of the laſt century, A. D. 955, Sigeric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and was ſucceeded in that office by Ælfric, formerly biſhop of Wilton, a zealous primate, who amidſt all the diſtractions of the ſtate, was careful and aſſiduous in the cauſe of religion; and obſerving the ignorance of the clergy in general at that time, he tranſlated no leſs than eighty homilies from the Latin into the Saxon tongue, which were then appointed to be read publicly in the churches, and from the homily deſigned for Eaſter-day, the doctrine concerning the ſacrament, as it ſtood in that early period, is ſettled beyond a doubt; for the author heſitates not to declare, that the bread and wine were only myſtically and ſpiritually to be underſtood as the body and blood of Chriſt; that the things themſelves underwent no actual change, but remained ſtill the ſame, and ſubject to corruption; and this is a convincing proof that the ſuperſtitious doctrine of tranſubſtantiation had not as yet affected the Saxon church. He alſo wrote ſeveral epiſtles recommending a reformation of the vices of the times; and the canons that are attributed to him, are many in number, and well ſuited to the times for which they were intended†: yet, though they generally bear the name of canons, (which appellation perhaps they might take from the tone of authority with which they ſeem to be given) they appear to be the injunctions only of a kind of epiſcopal charge, and not ſuch as were enacted by any eccleſiaſtical ſynod. In theſe canons we find the names and offices of ſeven orders of prieſts; as, Cent. XI. Ælfric's homilies and canons.

Firſt, the Oſtiary, who opened and ſhut the church doors, and tolled the bells.

Secondly, the Lector, who read the ſcriptures in the church.

Thirdly, the Exorciſt, whoſe office was to drive away evil ſpirits by invocations and abjurations.

Fourthly, the Acolyth, who held the tapers whilſt the goſpel was read, and the maſs celebrated.

Fifthly, the Sub-deacon, who had the charge of the holy veſſels, and attended upon the deacon at the altar.

* Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 1014. Spelm. Concil. T. 1. p. 530.

† Mr. Wharton, in his diſſertation concerning the two Ælfric's, is inclined to think that the preſent primate was not the author of theſe homilies, letters, and canons, but gives the honour of them to another man named Ælfric Putta, or Puttoc, who was archbiſhop of York in the reign of king Cnut; but after all the arguments produced by Mr. Wharton, the matter ſtill remains doubtful. For further ſatisfaction, the learned reader muſt be referred to the work itſelf. Wharton Diſſertat. Anglia Sacra, T. 1. p. 125; & vide Inett's church Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 366.

Cent. XI. Sixthly, the Deacon, who miniſtered to the maſs prieſt, placed the oblation on the altar, read the goſpel, baptiſed children, and gave the houſel to the people.

Seventhly, the Maſs Prieſt, or Preſbyter, who preached, baptiſed, and conſecrated the houſel. The maſs prieſt was of the ſame order with the biſhop; only the latter was a title of greater honour.

Another canon eſtabliſhed the difference between the ſecular and monkiſh clergy; and the next, namely, the nineteenth, appointed the tide ſongs that were to be ſung, and the proper hours for each ſong; as,

The Ught Song, or Mattins, early in the morning.
The Prime Song, at ſeven o'clock.
The Undern Song, at nine o'clock.
The Mid-day Song, at twelve o'clock.
The None Song, at three o'clock.
The Night Song, at nine o'clock at night.

The prieſts were alſo commanded to provide themſelves with all the neceſſary books, as the Goſpel-book, the Epiſtle-book, the Pſalter, the Maſs-book, the Song-book, the Hand-book, the Calendar, the Paſſional, the Penitential, and the Reading-book. They were alſo to explain the goſpel every Sunday publicly in the Saxon tongue, and not to take any money for the baptiſing children, or the performance of any other official duties. Many ſuperſtitious ceremonies were alſo contained in that famous charge, as in particular upon Good-Friday, the people were to kiſs and adore the croſs. Nor were the prieſts to be ever without ſome conſecrated oil, as well to baptiſe children, as to anoint the ſick, which laſt operation they were not to perform unleſs at the immediate requeſt of the ſick perſon.

Ælfric favours the monks.

Ælfric was himſelf a great patron of the monkiſh clergy, yet neither his doctrine nor example could produce the wiſhed for effect upon the ſeculars. However, he ſeemed to think that marriage was not unlawful to the clergy, though inexpedient, and a burthen to them, as it frequently prevented the proper execution of their holy function. The ſeculars, whenever they were called upon to renounce their wives and children, pleaded, that they imitated St. Peter himſelf, who was a married man, and had children; and this Ælfric himſelf confeſſes. However, in the decline of his life, he diſpoſſeſſed the canons of the church of Canterbury, notwithſtanding his former moderation, and the declaration he made to the ſeculars, that "he meant not to compel them to put away their wives, but to inform them how to behave themſelves;" which was agreeable to the laws eſtabliſhed after his death by the council convened by Æthelred in the year 1008. In which (although it was called for the ſettlement of the emergencies of the ſtate) there were ſome things

things agreed upon for the regulation of the church; amongſt which we find, that ſuch of the ſecular clergy as were yet in the monaſteries, had the privilege confirmed of continuing there, and of eating in the common hall; but then it was ordained, that they ſhould live chaſtely, and not tranſgreſs the rules of the houſe on pain of expulſion. On the whole, it appears, that Ælfric not only expelled the ſeculars from Canterbury, but alſo obtained a grant of Æthelred to confirm that proceeding; and a new charter, with additional privileges in favour of the monks *. Cent. XI.

Ælfric died in the year 1005, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Ælfegh, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, ſix years after, was cruelly murdered by the Danes. His ſucceſſor was Leving. From the time of the murder of Ælfegh to the acceſſion of Cnut, the church affairs are buried in total obſcurity, excepting the names of a few biſhops, and their ſucceſſors; ſo that nothing can be traced, if any matters of conſequence were really tranſacted, during that period. Ælfric's death, and the ſucceſſion.

In the time of Cnut, it appears that the newly converted Danes, as well perhaps as many of the Saxons, with whom they were then intermarried, were not thoroughly grounded in the true faith, which occaſioned the law that was eſtabliſhed by that prince againſt ſorcery and enchantments, to which deluſive arts the northern nations were all much addicted; and another law, ſomewhat ſimilar, was alſo made by Cnut, which ſtrictly forbid the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, fire, fruits of the earth, rivers, ſtones, fountains, or any kind of trees and wood. Another law required, that all the people ſhould unite in the worſhip of the true God †.

In this century, the zeal for viſiting the ſhrines of ſaints, and the paſſion for reliques, revived again, and ſhone in its full glory. Excited by this religious ardour, Agelnoth, who ſucceeded Leving in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, laid out a prodigious ſum of money at Rome to purchaſe the arm of Auguſtine, biſhop of Hippo ‡ in the year 1020; and the following year, after his return, his valuable relic was preſented to the church of Coventry. The ſame zeal prevailed with queen Emma, when ſhe gave a vaſt price for the arm of St. Bartholomew; but whole limbs of the great ſaints or apoſtles could only be purchaſed by the nobility and richer claſs of people; the meaner were obliged to be content with fingers, pieces of hair, paring of the nails, or the bits of garments of the more inferior ſaints. When occaſion required that the reliques of any remarkable ſaint ſhould be tranſported from one place to another, the vaſt expence that was beſtowed Superſtition of this time.

* Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. chap. 21.

† Johnſon's Canons. Spel. Concil. p. 538.

‡ He gave, according to Malmſbury, 100 talents, or 6000 pound weight of ſilver, and one talent, or 60 pound weight of gold; a vaſt ſum, particularly at that time.

Cent. XI. upon the preparations to make the proceſſion grand and pompous, and the treaſures that were frequently laviſhed upon the ornamenting their ſhrines, or the churches where they were buried, are matters truly aſtoniſhing. Into all theſe faſhionable follies Cnut himſelf frequently ran; for the wealth he beſtowed to adorn the old monaſtery of Wincheſter, and the churches of Glaſtonbury and Wincheſter, as well as upon his religious buildings, his expenſive pilgrimages to the ſhrine of Cuthbert, the northern ſaint, and his journey to Rome, are what make a conſiderable figure in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this time, which cannot be read without an equal degree of pity and contempt *.

Cnut's journey to Rome.

What was the true motive of Cnut's journey to Rome, cannot perhaps be eaſily aſcertained; the reaſon he himſelf gives is, that it was undertaken in honour of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul. When he arrived at Rome, he procured ſeveral taxes that had been levied upon ſuch devotees as journied on pilgrimage to Rome, to be taken off. He alſo, according to his own declaration, made great complaint of the pecuniary exactions that were annually made from the Engliſh archbiſhops when they received the pall from the ſee of Rome, which extortions he determined to redreſs. Theſe complaints he made in a full council before the pope, four archbiſhops, twenty-four biſhops, and many princes and great noblemen. He then concludes his epiſtle, which was written to Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with vowing to devote the reſt of his life to the ſervice of almighty God; recommending, at the ſame time, to the clergy and magiſtrates to maintain order and juſtice throughout his dominions until his return †.

Concluſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Saxons.

During the ſhort reigns of Harold and Hardicnut, the two ſons of Cnut, nothing material happened in the church affairs; nor did any intereſting change take place, either during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, or the buſy year in which Harold ſat upon the throne. Edward the Confeſſor, being a great favourer of the Normans, not only raiſed them to the higheſt civil and military poſts, but alſo promoted many of them to the principal eccleſiaſtical preferments. Amongſt the laſt, Robert Gemiticenſis, a Norman monk, was the higheſt in eſteem, who being firſt made biſhop of London, A. D. 1044, was afterwards, A. D. 1050, raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, and whilſt he was gone to Rome to receive the pall, the king nominated Sparhafoe, abbot of Abington, to ſucceed him in his ſee of London; but Robert, at his return, for ſome time, amuſed the abbot, and deferred the conſecration, untill he had, by his ſubtle arguments, perſuaded the king, in a great council, which met in September, A. D. 1051, to recall his

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1.

† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 11.

nomination

nomination, and appoint one William, a Norman, to be biſhop of London inſtead of the abbot; and ſoon after, by the perſuaſion of the primate, Edward raiſed Ulf, another Norman, to the ſee of Dorcheſter. But not long after, the Normans becoming diſagreeable to the people, they were obliged to quit their high ſtations as well in the church as in the ſtate, and make a precipitate retreat from England to ſave their lives. After Robert fled from England, Stigund, biſhop of Wincheſter, was choſen to ſucceed him in the chair, who poſſeſſed the archbiſhopric at the time of the arrival of William the Conqueror *. Cent. XI.

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. chap. 22.

END OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE SAXONS.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART II. CHAP. II.

Ancient Religion of the Danes, &c.

HAVING already given, in the former volume, ſome ſhort account of the ancient religion of our Saxon anceſtors, and made mention of the three principal deities adored by all the northern nations, it now remains that I fulfil my promiſe of giving as compleat an account of the mythology of the Danes as the limits of this work will permit, which will conclude and explain all that was left unfiniſhed in the preceding chapter *.

References to the former volume.

The three principal deities, of whom we have made mention before, viz. Odin or Woden, Thor and Frigga, ſeem not to have been conſidered by all the northern nations as equal to each other in power or importance. The Danes paid the greateſt veneration to Odin; the inhabitants of Norway and Iceland ſeemed to give the preference to Thor; and the Swedes appear to have choſen for their tutelar deity Freya or Frey, an inferior goddeſs, who, by the Edda †, is reported to preſide over the ſeaſons of the year, and to beſtow peace, wealth and plenty.

Concerning the three chief gods of the Danes

"The firſt and moſt ancient of all the deities is Odin, who" (ſays the Edda) "governeth all things; and the reſt of the gods, although they are very powerful themſelves, obey him as children obey their father; and he is called the univerſal father, becauſe he is the father of all the gods. He is alſo named the Father of Battles, becauſe he receives thoſe as his ſons that die in the fight; to them alſo he aſſigns the palaces of

The number and offices of the Daniſh gods, and firſt Odin.

* Vol. 1. part 3. chap. 3. page 211.

† The Edda is the ſyſtem of the ancient Daniſh mythology, and is given at large, with an Engliſh tranſlation, in a work, entituled, Northern Antiquities, vol. 2.

Valhall

Valhall and Vingolf, and ſalutes them with the title of heroes. The name of his wife is Frigga, who knoweth the deſtinies of men, which, however, ſhe never revealeth.

Thor. " Next to Odin, Thor is the firſt and greateſt amongſt the gods: he is called Aſa Thor, or Lord Thor; and Ake Thor, or Active Thor; he is the ſtrongeſt amongſt the gods or men; his dominion is named Thrudwanger, and his palace Biſkerner, in which there are five hundred and forty halls; his chariot is drawn by two he goats, and in this chariot he goes into the country of the giants, and therefore he is called Oka Thor, or Rapid Thor. He has three valuable things, the firſt is his club named Thiolner, that makes the giants fear him; the ſecond is the belt of proweſs, that being put on redoubles his former ſtrength; the third are iron gauntlets, with which he holds his mace or club. His exploits were ſo many, and ſo wonderful, that no perſon is eſteemed learned enough to relate them all.

Blader. " The third god in power is Blader, the ſecond ſon of Odin, who is of an amiable diſpoſition, and perfectly beautiful; his dwelling is in the palace of Breidablik, where nothing impure can be admitted, and, upon the columns, are engraven verſes capable of recalling the dead to life.

Niord. " The next god is Niord, whoſe dwelling is in a place called Noatun, where he governeth the winds, and checks the fury of the ſea, the ſtorms, and the fire: whoever would ſucceed in navigation, hunting, or fiſhing, are directed to pray to this deity. Niord had two children named Frey and Freya—Frey is the mildeſt of the gods, and hath dominion over the rain, the ſun, and things that grow upon the earth; he it is that diſpenſes peace and riches to mankind. Freya, the other child, has her habitation in heaven, which is called Folvanga, (or the union of the people) and to her is due one half of thoſe ſlain in battle; the other half belongs to Odin. She goes forth from her palace in a chariot drawn by two cats; ſhe attends to the vows of thoſe who ſeek her aſſiſtance, and from her the women took their name; ſhe delights moſt in the ſongs of lovers, who, if they hope to be ſucceſsful, ought to addreſs themſelves to her.

Tyr. " The fifth god to Niord is Tyr," (who is to be diſtinguiſhed from Thor) " one of the moſt bold and intrepid of the gods: he diſpenſes victory in the battle, and his valour is ſo great that it became a proverb to ſay of a valiant man, " He is as brave as Tyr."

Brage. " The ſixth next god is Brage, the god of wiſdom and eloquence: he was not only the prince, but the parent of poetry, which, from his name, was called Brager; and from him alſo the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets had their title. His wife is called Iduna, to whoſe care is committed the keeping of certain apples that reſtored the gods, when they became aged, to their youth again.

Heimdall. " The next powerful deity is Heimdall, the ſon of the nine virgin ſiſters: he is called the White God; he is alſo diſtinguiſhed by the

the appellations of Hialmſkidius and Gulltannius, becauſe his teeth are of pure gold. His dwelling is at the end of the bridge Befroſt, or the Rainbow, in a caſtle called Celeſtial Fort: he is the keeper or centinel of the gods, and ſitteth at the entry into heaven to prevent the giants from taking poſſeſſion of the bridge; nor can he eaſily be ſurpriſed, for he ſleepeth leſs than a bird, and ſeeth by night as well as by day an hundred leagues round about him; and his ear is ſo remarkably fine, that he heareth the graſs grow upon the earth, and the wool upon the ſheep's back, ſo that the ſmalleſt ſound cannot eſcape him; and he has with him a trumpet which would be heard by all the worlds.

Hoder. Hoder, the next divinity, is blind, but extremely ſtrong.

Vidar. The ninth god is Vidar, who is called the Silent God: he wears thick ſhoes, but of ſuch wonderful contexture, that by means of them he can walk in the air, and tread upon the water, and in ſtrength he almoſt equals the god Thor.

Vile. The tenth god called Vile or Vali, is one of the ſons of Odin and Rinda: he is bold in war, and a ſkilful archer.

Uller. The eleventh god is Uller, the offspring of Sifia, and ſon-in-law to Thor, who is ſo expert in ſhooting his arrows, and runneth ſo ſwiftly with his ſcates, that none are able to contend with him: his perſon is handſome, and he is juſtly eſteemed a hero.

Torſete. Torſete, the twelfth god, is the ſon of Balder, who reſides in a palace named Glitner, which is upheld by pillars of gold, and covered with a roof of ſilver, where he reconciles and appeaſes all ſorts of quarrels, whether amongſt the gods or men."

Loke and his offspring. Beſides theſe twelve gods, there was a malevolent and powerful ſpirit called Loke, "whom (ſays the Edda) ſome reckon in the number of the gods; others call him the Calumniator of the gods, the Artificer of Fraud, and the Enemy both of the gods and men. Loke is the ſon of the giant Tarbantes and of Laufeya: he is handſome, well formed in his perſon; but he is evil, light, and inconſtant; he ſurpaſſes all beings in perfidy and cunning, and hath often expoſed the gods to great perils by his artifices. His wife is named Siguna, by whom he had ſome children; but by the gianteſs Angerbode, or the Meſſenger of Ill, he had three monſtrous children; the firſt of which is the Wolf Fenris; the ſecond, the Great Serpent of Midgard; and the third, Hella or Death. The gods foreſaw the danger that would happen from this evil offspring; wherefore the almighty father ſent certain gods to bring them before him. The ſerpent he threw down into the bottom of the ſea, where he increaſed to ſuch a degree that he wound himſelf round the whole globe of the earth, ſo that he can eaſily take the end of his tail into his mouth. Hella was caſt into Niflheim or Hell, where ſhe had given her dominion over nine worlds, into which ſhe diſpatches thoſe that are ſent to her, which are ſuch as die of diſeaſes or of old age: her appartments are ſtrongly built and

fenced with large grates. Her hall is Grief; her table is Famine; her knife is Hunger; her ſervant Delay; her maid Slackneſs; her gate precipice; her porch Faintneſs; her bed Pain and Sickneſs; and her tent Curſing and Howling. Half her body is blue, the other half covered with ſkin of the colour of human fleſh, her look is full of terror by which ſhe may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed *".

The goddeſſes of the Danes, and their offices.

The Danes alſo worſhipped twelve principal goddeſſes, of whom Frigga was the chief.

Saga. " Saga, the ſecond, whoſe habitation was called Suarbeck.

Eira. Eira, the third, was the goddeſs of medicine.

Gefione. Gefione, the fourth, being herſelf a pure virgin, took into her ſervice all chaſte maidens after their deceaſe.

Fulla. Fulla, the fifth, was alſo a beautiful virgin who had committed to her keeping the Toilette and ſlippers of Frigga; ſhe was alſo intruſted with all the ſecrets of that goddeſs.

Freya. Freya, the ſixth, was the moſt beautiful of all the goddeſſes except Frigga; ſhe married a huſband named Oder, by whom ſhe had a daughter named Noſſa, ſo very fair that whatever was beautiful or precious was called by her name. Oder left his wife, and journied into countries very remote, ſince which time Freya ſeeks him continually weeping, and her tears are drops of pure gold: in ſearch of Oder, ſhe travelled over many countries, ſo that by different nations ſhe is called by different names.

Siofna. The ſeventh goddeſs is Siofna, who inſpires the hearts of men and women with love.

Lofna. Lofna, the eighth goddeſs, is poſſeſſed of a gift beſtowed upon her by Odin and Frigga, by which ſhe reconciles lovers to each other when they are moſt at variance.

Vara. Vara, the ninth divinity, preſides over oaths, and particularly over the vows of lovers, whoſe breach of faith ſhe conſtantly puniſhes.

Vora. Vora, the tenth, is the goddeſs of curioſity and penetration.

Synia. Synia, the eleventh, is the portreſs of the hall who ſhuts the doors upon ſuch as ought not to be admitted—ſhe alſo preſided at trials, where any were about to deny what was laid to their charge.

Lyna. The twelfth is called Lyna, to whoſe charge were committed ſuch men as Frigga choſe to deliver from danger."

Other Deities. Beſides theſe, they adored a divinity named Snotra, the goddeſs of Prudence and Good-manners; and Gna, who was the meſſenger of Frigga. " There are alſo (continues the Edda) many virgins that officiate in Valhall, pouring out drink for the Heroes, and taking care of whatever belongs to the table. Theſe goddeſſes are called Valkyries, and they are ſent by Odin into the battle to chuſe out ſuch as ſhall be ſlain, and to diſpoſe of the victory. Gudar, Roſtra, and the youngeſt of the Deſtinies or

* Edda. Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

Faires,

Faries, who preſide over Time, whoſe name is Skuldar (or the Future) go forth on horſeback every day to chuſe the ſlain, and regulate the ſlaughter.—Jord (or the Earth) the mother of Thor, and Rinda, the mother of Vale, are alſo to be eſteemed goddeſſes." Nor were theſe all the deities that the northern nations adored; for they believed that the earth the water, the fire, the ſun, the moon, and the ſtars, had each its reſpective divinity. Trees, foreſts, rivers, lakes, and mountains were alſo thought to be inhabited and governed by certain genii, capable of doing hurt or good, and, therefore, intitled to ſome particular marks of adoration, and religious worſhip *.

"The principal city of the gods is under the great aſh Ydraſil, where they aſſemble every day to adminiſter juſtice. This aſh is the greateſt and beſt of all trees; its branches extend themſelves over the whole world, and reach above the heavens; it is ſupported by three roots at an immenſe diſtance from each other: one of them is amongſt the gods, another amongſt the giants, and the third extends to the ninth world, or hell, where it is gnawed by the ſerpent Nidhoger. Under the ſecond root is a fountain, wherein Wiſdom and Prudence lie concealed; and under another root is a holy fountain of Time Paſt, from whence the three virgins, or deſtinies, named Urda, or the Paſt; Verdandi, or the Preſent; and Skulda, or the Future, continually draw up water with which they bedew the aſh. The water preſerves the branches from withering, and reſtores the beauty of the foliage; after having refreſhed the leaves, it falls to the earth again, and forms the dew from which the bees extract their honey. Upon the top of the aſh is ſeated an eagle of aſtoniſhing ſagacity; a ſquirrel runs up and down the aſh, ſowing diſcord between the eagle and the ſerpent concealed at its root" †. The chief city of the gods, where ſituated.

Having thus ſeen the principal deities of our northern anceſtors, and their chief abode, we ſhall, in the next place, proceed to the examination of the creation of the univerſe, which was attributed to Odin, the greateſt of all their gods; and this will be beſt done in the words of an ancient Icelandic poet ‡. "In the day ſpring of the ages, there was neither ſea nor ſhore, nor refreſhing breezes; there was neither earth below, nor heaven above to be diſtinguiſhed; the whole was one vaſt abyſs, without herb, and without ſeeds; the ſun had then no palace, the ſtars knew not their dwelling-places, the moon was ignorant of her power: there was a luminous, burning, flaming world towards the ſouth, and from this world flowed out inceſſantly into the abyſs that lay towards the north, torrents of ſparkling fire, which, in proportion as they moved far away from their ſource, congealed on their falling into the abyſs, and ſo filled it with ſcum and ice. Thus was the abyſs, by little and little, filled quite full; but there remained within it a light and immoveable air, and thence exhaled icy va- Creation of the world.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1. cap. v.
† Edda, vol. 2. Northern Antiquities.
‡ Ancient poem of the Voluſpa. Mallet, vol. 1. chap. 7.

pours; then a warm breath, coming from the ſouth, melted thoſe vapours, and formed of them living drops, whence was born the giant Ymer. It is reported, that, whilſt he ſlept, an extraordinary ſweat under his arm-pits, produced a male and female, whence is ſprung the race of the giants; a race, evil and corrupt, as well as Ymer their author. Another race was brought forth, which formed alliances with that of the giant Ymer: this was called the family of Bor, ſo named from the firſt of that family, who was the father of Odin. The ſons of Bor ſlew the giant Ymer, and the blood ran from his wound in ſuch abundance, that it cauſed a general inundation, wherein periſhed all the giants, except only one, who ſaved himſelf in a bark, and eſcaped with all his family. Then a new world was formed. The ſons of Bor, or the gods, dragged the body of the giant into the abyſs, and of it made the earth: the ſea and rivers were compoſed of his blood, the earth of his fleſh, the great mountains of his bones, the rocks of his teeth, and of ſplinters of his bones broken. They made of his ſcull the vault of heaven, which is ſupported by four dwarfs, named South, North, Eaſt, and Weſt; they fixed tapers there to enlighten it, and aſſigned to other fires certain ſpaces which they were to run through, ſome of them in heaven, and others under heaven. The days were diſtinguiſhed, and the years were numbered; they made the earth round, and ſurrounded it with the deep ocean, upon the banks of which they placed the giants. One day as the ſons of Bor were walking upon the ſea ſhore, they found two pieces of wood floating upon the water; they took them out, and made a man of the one, and a woman of the other. The eldeſt of the gods gave them life and ſouls; the ſecond, motion; the third, the gift of ſpeech, hearing and ſight, to which he added beauty and raiment. From this man and this woman named Aſke and Embla, is deſcended the race of men who are permitted to inhabit the earth"*. Night is ſaid to have been the daughter of a giant named Nor, and her complexion was black; but being wedded to Daglingar, who was of the family of the gods, ſhe brought forth Day, a child beautiful and ſhining. Afterwards, Odin took both Day, and his mother Night, and placed them in heaven, and gave to each of them a horſe and a car. Night goes firſt, and her horſe is named Renifane, (or Froſty Mane) who every morning as he begins his courſe, moiſtens the earth with the foam that drops from the bit of his bridle, and this is the Dew. The horſe that was given to Day, is called Skinfaxa, (or Shining Mane) and by his radiant mane he illuminates the air and the earth. Sunna and Mane were two children of a man named Mundilfara, but the ſublimity of their names gave offence to the gods, who carried them both up into heaven; and to Sunna, who was a female, the guidance of the chariot of the Sun was committed, which the gods, to illuminate the earth, had compoſed of the fires from the flaming ſouthern world; at the ſame time, under

* Edda. Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

each

each horſe they placed two ſkins filled with air to cool and refreſh them; and hence comes the cool, refreſhing breezes of the morning. As for Mane, who was a man, his office was to regulate the courſe of the moon through all her quarters. He one day carried away two children named Bill and Hiuke, as they were returning from a fountain, carrying between them a pitcher ſuſpended on a ſtick. "Theſe two children" (adds the Edda) "always accompany the moon, as one may obſerve eaſily even from the earth." The reaſon aſſigned for the ſwiftneſs of the courſe of the ſun and moon is, that they are cloſely purſued by two wolves who were one day deſtined to deſtroy them. Theſe wolves come from the foreſt of Iarnvid (or Iron Wood) all the trees of which are of iron; where an old ſorcereſs of the race of the giants has her habitation, and who brought both theſe monſters into the world. "One in particular" (continues the Edda) "of that race is ſaid to be the moſt formidable of all: he is called Managarmer; a monſter that fattens himſelf with the ſubſtances of men who draw near to their end; ſometimes he ſwallows up the moon, and ſtains the heaven and the air with blood." The laſt part of this quotation explains the ideas the ancient northern nations had of eclipſes, and naturally accounts for the general practice of making noiſes at the time they happened, which was to fright the monſter away, who they thought would otherwiſe devour the two great luminaries *.

Of the Dwarfs.

After the gods had finiſhed their own habitation, and made the creation of the world compleat, "they ſeated themſelves" (continues the Edda) "upon their thrones, diſtributed juſtice, and took under conſideration the affairs of the dwarfs †, a ſpecies of beings bred in the

* Northern Anquities, vol. 2.

† I cannot help adding here the excellent remarks that M. Mallet makes upon this curious paſſage. It is as follows, tranſlated in the 2d vol. of the Northern Antiquities, p. 46. "We may diſcover here one of the effects of that ignorant prejudice which hath made us, for ſo many years, regard all arts and handicrafts as the occupation of mean people and ſlaves.----The Goths and Celts, imagining there was ſomething magical in mechanic ſkill and induſtry, could ſcarcely believe that an able artiſt was one of their own ſpecies, or deſcended from the ſame common origin. This, it muſt be granted, was a very fooliſh conceit; but let us conſider what might poſſibly facilitate the entrance of it into their minds. There was, perhaps, ſome neighbouring people bordered upon one of the Celtic or Gothic tribes, and which, although leſs warlike than themſelves, and much inferior in ſtature and ſtrength, might yet excell them in dexterity; and, addicting themſelves to manual arts, might carry on a commerce with them ſufficiently extenſive to have the fame of it ſpread pretty far. All theſe circumſtances will agree well enough with the Laplanders, who are ſtill as famous for their magic as remarkable for the lowneſs of their ſtature; pacific even to a degree of cowardice, but of a mechanic induſtry, which formerly muſt have appeared very conſiderable. The ſtories that were invented concerning this people, paſſing through the mouths of ſo many ignorant relaters, would ſoon acquire all the degrees of the marvellous of which they were ſuſceptible. Thus the Dwarfs ſoon became the forgers of enchanted armour, upon which neither ſwords nor conjurations could make any impreſſion.---- They were poſſeſſed of caverns full of treaſure intirely at their own diſpoſal, &c.— As the Dwarfs were feeble, and of but ſmall courage, they were ſuppoſed to be crafty, full of artifice and deceit. This, which in the old romances is called *Diſloyalty*, is

duſt of the earth, juſt as worms are in a dead carcaſs. It was indeed in the body of the giant Ymir that they were engendered, and firſt began to live and move. At firſt, they were only worms; but, by order of the gods, they at length partook of both human ſhape and reaſon; nevertheleſs, they always dwell in ſubterraneous caverns, and among the rocks" *.

Amuſements of the departed ſouls.

The ſouls of Heroes, who died with their ſwords in their hands, had no ſooner quitted their bodies, than they were carried up into Valhall, or the palace of Odin, where they were feaſted with the fleſh of the Boar Serimner, which was more than ſufficient to ſupply them all, for though it was prepared every morning by the cook Andrimner, and ſerved up to the table, yet every night the animal became intire again. Their drink was hydromel or mead, which every day diſtilled from the paps of a ſhe goat, ſo plentifully as to fill a pitcher large enough to enebriate all the heroes. "Odin, the illuſtrious father of armies," ſits at a table by himſelf, and all the food that is ſet before him he gives to two wolves, for he himſelf needs no food; for wine is to him inſtead of every other aliment. "Two ravens are conſtantly ſitting upon the ſhoulders of this god, who whiſper in his ear whatever news they have heard or ſeen. The one of them is named Hugin, or Spirit; the other, Munſien, or Memory. Theſe he lets looſe every day, and after they have made their excurſions over the whole world, they return again at the hour of repaſt; and hence it is that Odin derives his great knowledge." But to return to the heroes, who when they are not feaſting are following the amuſements allotted for them. "As ſoon as they have put on their habits, they take their arms, and entering the liſts, fight till they have cut one another in pieces; yet, at mid-day, the hour of their repaſt, they all return again unhurt to carouſe in the palace of Odin."

Deſcription of the Laſt Day.

Loke, the malevolent ſpirit, of whom we have ſpoken before, had by his continual miſchiefs, ſo far exaſperated the gods that they were determined to puniſh him. Loke, appriſed of his danger, fled away;

is the character always given them in thoſe fabulous narratives; all theſe fancies having received the ſeal of time, and univerſal conſent, could no longer be conteſted; and it was the buſineſs of the poets to aſſign a fit origin for ſuch ungracious beings. This was done by their pretended riſe from the carcaſs of a great dead giant. The Dwarfs, at firſt, were only the maggots engendered there by its putrefaction: afterwards, the gods beſtowed upon them underſtanding and cunning. By this fiction the northern warriors juſtified their contempt of them, and, at the ſame time, accounted for their ſmall ſtature, their induſtry, and their ſuppoſed propenſity for inhabiting caves and clifts of the rocks. After all, the notion is not every where exploded that there are, in the bowels of the earth, Fairies, or a kind of dwarfiſh, diminutive beings of human ſhape, remarkable for their riches, their activity, and malevolence. In many countries of the north, the people are ſtill firmly perſuaded of their exiſtence. In Iceland, at this day, the good folks ſhew the very rocks and hills, in which they maintain that there are ſwarms of theſe ſmall ſubterraneous men of the moſt diminutive ſize, but moſt delicately ſhaped."

* Edda, ibid.

but

but his retreat being diſcovered by Odin, he was at laſt taken, and confined upon three ſharp ſtones, with a ſerpent over his head, whoſe venom falling upon him, "makes him howl with anguiſh, and twiſt his body about with ſuch violence, that all the earth is ſhaken with it, and this produces earthquakes." In this horrid ſituation he was to abide until the general conflagration of the univerſe, called the "Twilight of the Gods," which is thus deſcribed in the Edda. "In the firſt place will come the great, the deſolating Winter, when the ſnow ſhall fall from every part of heaven, then ſhall the cold be extreme, and the tempeſt violent, and the ſun ſhall ceaſe to be uſeful: three conſtant winters ſhall paſs away without the intervention of one ſummer; this ſhall be proceeded by three winters more, when war ſhall be ſpread all over the earth; brothers ſhall ſtain themſelves with brothers blood; children ſhall become the murtherers of their own parents; parents ſhall ſlay their children; inceſt and adultery ſhall be common; no man ſhall ſpare his friend.—A barbarous age ſhall this be, an age of ſwords, an age of tempeſts, an age of wolves, when the ſhield ſhall be broken until the deſtruction of the world. The wolf ſhall devour the ſun, and another monſter ſhall deſtroy the moon, and the ſtars ſhall fall from heaven; the earth ſhall be ſhaken, the mountains caſt down from their foundations, and the trees torn up by the roots; the bonds and chains of the evil ſpirits ſhall be broken, the wolf Fenris ſhall be let looſe, the great ſerpent ſhall roll himſelf in the ſea, and, by his motions, overflow the earth: then ſhall the ſhip Naglefara be ſet afloat; this ſhip, which is compoſed of the nails of dead men, ſhall be piloted by the giant Rymer. The wolf Fenris advancing, openeth his monſtrous jaws, which touch both heaven and earth, and would extend ſtill further if there were ſpace ſufficient; and the great ſerpent, cloſe at his ſide, breathes forth floods of venom; the heavens are burſt in ſunder, and, through the breach, the evil genii of the fire enter on horſeback, led by Surtur (the black) who is encompaſſed by burning fire, which goes before and follows him, and his ſword ſhines as the ſun. The paſſing of the genii on horſeback ſhall break the bridge of heaven*: they arrive at a plain, where they are joined by the wolf Fenris, the great ſerpent Loke, who has broken the chains with which he was bound, and the giant Rymer. Heimdal, the porter of the gods, blowing violently his clanging trumpet, the gods awake and aſſemble. The great aſh Ydraſil is violently ſhaken; heaven and earth are full of horror and affright. Odin attacks the wolf Fenris, but is devoured by him; Fenris is then ſlain by Vidar; Thor encounters the great ſerpent, and beats the monſter to the earth, but quickly after periſhes himſelf; Heimdal and Loke ſlay each other;

* "The gods erected a bridge" (ſays the Edda) which extends from heaven to earth, and its name is Befroſt;" but on earth it is called "the Rainbow." Edda Iceland. Mythol. 8.

then

then Surtur darts fire and flame over all the earth, and the whole is quickly conſumed" *.

A new earth ariſing from the ruins of the former.

After the death of the gods, and deſtruction of the univerſe, "ſhall emerge from the boſom of the waves, an earth, clothed with a moſt lovely verdure; the floods ſhall retire, and the fields produce their fruit without culture; misfortunes ſhall be baniſhed from the world; Blader, and the warrior gods, ſhall return to inhabit the ruined palaces of Odin; the gods ſhall aſſemble in the fields of Ida, and diſcourſe together concerning the heavenly palaces, whoſe ruins are before them; they ſhall recollect their former converſation, and the ancient diſcourſes of Odin. A palace called Gimle, more reſplendent than the ſun, ſhall ariſe to view, adorned with a golden roof, there the aſſemblies of good men ſhall inhabit, and give themſelves up to joy and pleaſure throughout all ages †. Whilſt remote from the ſun is an abode called Naſtrande, the gates of which look towards the north; there drops of poiſon rain through the windows: it is built of the carcaſes of ſerpents; there, in rapid rivers, are plunged the ſouls of perjured men and aſſaſſins, and thoſe who ſeek to ſeduce the wives of other men ‡: in another place, their condition is ſtill worſe, for there a horrid monſter hacks to pieces the bodies of thoſe ſent thither."——"Then the powerful, the valiant, he who governs all things, iſſues forth, with great power, from his habitations on high to render his divine judgments, and to pronounce his ſentences: he terminates all differences, and eſtabliſhes the ſacred deſtinies, which will remain to eternity §."

Explanation of the foregoing paſſages.

In the foregoing extracts we have an epitome of the mythology of the ancient northern philoſophers, which, diveſted of all its allegory, ſeems to be as follows.—They believed that Nature herſelf was in a ſtate of conſtant decay, being continually warred upon by the malevolent powers, who were, with great difficulty, reſiſted by the gods: that, when the time ſhould come, that all things were ripe for deſtruction, the efforts of the gods (notwithſtanding they were aſſiſted by the ſpirits of departed heroes) would no longer be ſufficient to withſtand the attacks of the evil powers, who, burſting from their chains, fill the univerſe with ruin and confuſion; and though the gods, with their aſſiſtants, in the end deſtroy their enemies, yet their conqueſt proves fatal to themſelves, for they alſo periſh in the general conflagration. When the preſent world is conſumed, we ſee a ſupreme power ariſing, ſuperior to Odin, and his fellow deities, who puts an end to the prevailing confuſion, and renews the world, making it more beautiful

* Edda, vol. 2. Northern Antiq. p. 159, & infra.

† Ancient poem of the Voluſpa, ibid. p. 174.

‡ Edda.

§ Ancient poem of the Voluſpa, Northern Antiq. vol. 2. p. 178.

than

than it was before, and eſtabliſhes it to all eternity: then the ſubaltern gods ariſe again to govern under the ſupreme Deity, and the ſouls of heroes and juſt men to inhabit the new earth.

Two heavens and two hells believed in.

The northern philoſophers, as we have ſeen, made two heavens for their heroes, and two hells for thoſe that were profligate and wicked. The firſt of theſe endured but for a time, and the laſt to all eternity; for after the ſoul of an hero left his body, it went directly to the palace of Odin or Valhall, where they enjoyed their firſt ſtate of happineſs; but after the deſtruction of the world, they roſe again to people the new earth, where their happineſs was to be made perfect, and to endure for ever. So alſo the ſouls of the wicked were firſt precipitated into the Niflheim, or abode of death, where they were to abide until the laſt day, and, after that, they were caſt into Naſtrande, a place of eternal puniſhment.

Rites of worſhip.

Having thus given a ſhort view of the ancient religion of the Saxons and Danes, it only remains that we give a brief account of the rites of worſhip uſual amongſt thoſe nations, and theſe may be compriſed under four heads, viz. Songs of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; Prayers and Supplications; Offerings and Sacrifices; Incantations and Rites of Divination.

Songs of praiſe.

In regard to the ſongs compoſed in honour of the gods, they were doubtleſs very numerous; and in theſe they were diſtinguiſhed according to their power and rank, by the honourable epithets that were beſtowed upon them; and, as they were high in eſteem, thoſe epithets were always more numerable. Odin alone had not leſs than one hundred and twenty-ſix different appellations, of which the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen. "Odin, the Father of the Ages; the Supercilious; the Eagle; the Father of Verſes; Whirlwind; the Incendiary: he who cauſes ſhowers of arrows, &c." Thor was diſtinguiſhed by twelve epithets, of which the moſt common were, "The Son of Odin, and the Earth." Loke, the evil ſpirit, was called, "The Father of the Great Serpent; the Father of Death; the Adverſary; the Accuſer; the Deceiver of the Gods, &c." Frigga was diſtinguiſhed by the honourable title of "Queen of the Gods." And Freya was called, "The Goddeſs of Love; the Norne, or Fairy, who weeps golden tears; the Kind and Liberal Goddeſs *."

Prayers and ſupplications.

Prayers and ſupplications formed a great part of the worſhip of the northern nations. Their prayers were offered up to Odin for ſucceſs in battle: to Frigga, for ſucceſsful marriages, and eaſy child-births; to Thor, that he might avert the thunder-bolts, and deſtroy their enemies with them. To Niord, they prayed for favourable voyages, and ſucceſs in fiſhing. To Freya, for mild ſeaſons, and large crops of corn; and to Tyr, for ſucceſs in duels, &c. They were very particu-

* Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 189, 190.

lar in addreſſing their prayers, as they ought, and boaſted of their knowledge of the attributes and functions of the gods, ſo that they were well acquainted to what deity to make their applications in order to obtain ſucceſs; but, if the gods refuſed to grant their requeſts, they would frequently expreſs their diſſatisfaction by ſhooting arrows or throwing darts towards heaven *.

Sacrifices.

Their ſacrifices were numerous; for it was uſual with them to offer victims to the particular gods they addreſſed, previouſly to their undertaking any great exploit; and, at this time, after the victim was choſen, it was conducted towards the altar, where the ſacred fire was kept burning night and day. The altar was ſurrounded with all ſorts of veſſels, as well of iron as of braſs, with one larger than the reſt to receive the victim's blood. If their ſacrifice conſiſted of animals, the victim was conducted quickly to the altar, and there ſlain; when part of the fleſh was burned, and the reſt properly prepared, it was ſet before the aſſembly, who feaſted thereon, not excepting the fleſh of horſes; and the nobility partook of this feaſt as well as the common people. But when important occaſions ſeemed to require more noble victims, their altars ſtreamed with the blood of human beings. Theſe unfortunate wretches were either knocked on the head as they lay upon a great ſtone, prepared for that purpoſe, or elſe were bled to death, to give the prieſts an opportunity of making his obſervations upon the flowing of the blood; and, according to its impetuoſity, they uſually judged of the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe they were about to undertake. The body was next opened, and the entrails examined, from which freſh preſages were drawn. The bodies were afterwards either burnt upon the altar, or hung up in the ſacred groves. At other times, they performed their ſacrifices in a different manner; for near the temple was a deep well, into which the victim was plunged headlong: this was chiefly done in honour of Gaya, or the Earth; and, if the body ſunk at once to the bottom, it was eſteemed a ſure proof of its being agreeable to the goddeſs; but if, on the contrary, it ſwam at top, it was a ſign that ſhe refuſed it, and it was then hung up in the Holy Foreſt. In whatever manner the victim was ſlain, the prieſt always pronounced certain words, as, "I devote thee to Odin;—I ſend thee to Odin;"—or, "I devote thee for a good harveſt; for a return of a fruitful ſeaſon." Their ſacrifices were always concluded with feaſting and rejoicing, and then in particular they drank large draughts of beer or ale to the honour of the gods, and at each draught put up ſome prayer, or made ſome vow. To Odin, they would uſually ſacrificed horſes, dogs, falcons, and ſometimes cocks, or a fat bull. To Thor alſo fat oxen and horſes; and, to Frigga, the largeſt hog they could procure. When they meant to ſacrifice men, the victims were

* Olai Magni Hiſt. l. 3. c. 9.

uſually

uſually choſen from criminals, captives, or ſlaves; but on particular emergencies the firſt nobility, nay, even their kings were not ſpared; for they thought the more noble the victim was, the ſooner the gods would liſten to their prayers, and grant them, in proportion, a larger ſhare of their favour *.

No people were more addicted to ſoothſaying and divination than the ancient Saxons and Danes; for beſides thoſe common methods made uſe of by other nations in general, they had many peculiar to themſelves. Their oracles were not leſs famous, nor leſs revered, than thoſe of Greece and Italy: they paid alſo the greateſt regard to diviners, whether male or female, but more particularly to the latter; theſe pretended to give anſwers by familiar ſpirits, or by conjuring up the ſpirits of the departed people. This art they pretended to have learned from Odin, who uſed frequently to conſult the ſpirits of the dead to know what paſſed in remote countries. Theſe ſecrets the bards pretended to poſſeſs; and boaſted that they could call the dead from their gloomy abodes by certain magic verſes, and by the formation of Runic letters or characters †.

Divinations of the Danes.

In the very early times it is ſaid, that the northern nations had no temples for their gods, thinking, perhaps, that it might be offenſive to the deities to pretend to encloſe them within the circuit of walls, ſo that their religious worſhip was performed in the ſacred groves, or within large circles of rude ſtones. In the latter times, however, they proceeded to imitate other idolatrous nations, and erected temples, ſome of which were aſtoniſhingly magnificent; but none of them were more famous than that which was built at Upſal in Sweden, which was covered on all ſides with gold, and a chain of the ſame metal ran round the roof, the circumference of which was not leſs than nine hundred ells. Every temple had a private chapel, which was regarded as the moſt holy place, where, on a kind of altar, the images of their deities were ſet up, and round which the victims, doomed to be ſacrificed, were ranged in order. Another altar was alſo oppoſite to this, plated with iron, that it might receive no damage from the holy fire which was kept burning there perpetually: on this altar was placed a brazen vaſe for the reception of the blood of the victims, and beſide it ſtood a bruſh for ſprinkling the blood upon the by-ſtanders: not far off hung a ſilver ring beſmeared with blood, which was to be held in the hand of a perſon who was about to take an oath ‡. At the temple of Upſal there was alſo a deep well, into which they caſt the victims.

Temples of the Danes and Saxons.

* Mallet, chap. 7.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ. Keyſler, p. 59. Mallet, vol. 1. c. 7.

‡ Thus Ælfred, when he had overcome the Danes, A. D. 876, cauſed them to ſwear upon their holy bracelet, which oath they had never taken to any foreign king or nation before, ſays Aſſerius; but the event proved, that they regarded this ſolemn oath no more than any they had ſworn before without this ceremony. Vid. page 29 of this vol.

Images of the Saxon and Daniſh gods.

At the ſame time that the northern nations followed the example of other pagan people in erecting temples to their gods, they alſo proceeded further to imitate them, and ſet up their images therein; for in the famous temple of Upſal, the three ſuperior deities were repreſented, and each of them was characterized by ſome particular ſymbol; Odin was ſeated on a throne compleatly armed, holding a ſword in his right hand. Thor ſtood at the left hand of Odin with a crown upon his head, a ſcepter in one hand, and a club in the other *. Frigga ſtood at the left hand of Thor; ſhe was repreſented as an hermaphrodite, and held a bow in one hand, and a ſword in the other. The other gods were depicted with their various attributes. Alſo, after the arrival of the Saxons in England, they erected many temples, which were filled with the images of their gods; but they were deſtroyed upon their converſion to Chriſtianity †.

Feſtivals obſerved by the Danes and Saxons.

There were three great religious feſtivals celebrated in the courſe of the year by the ancient northern nations. The firſt was held at the winter ſolſtice; and the night on which it was obſerved was called Mother Night, both on account of the feſtival, and of its being the beginning of the new year with thoſe nations: this feaſt was named Juul, a name by which the Chriſtian feſtival of Chriſtmas (obſerved about the ſame ſeaſon of the year) was afterwards called, and by which it is known to this day in many parts of Scotland, and ſome parts of England: the heathen Juul was celebrated in honour of the god Thor, or the Sun, in order to obtain a propitious year, and fruitful ſeaſons. Sacrifices, feaſting, dances, nocturnal aſſemblies, and every poſſible demonſtration of a moſt diſſolute joy were then authorized by the general uſage. The ſecond feſtival, which was inſtituted in honour of the Earth, or of the goddeſs Gaya or Frigga, was celebrated in the firſt quarter of the firſt moon in the year. The third, and moſt conſiderable of them all, was held in the beginning of the ſpring, in honour of the god Odin, when they welcomed the return of that pleaſant ſeaſon, and eſpecially prayed to obtain of the god of battles ſucceſs in their projected warlike expeditions. Beſides theſe three great feſtivals, they had many others in honour of the inferior deities, and they were often multiplied on occaſion of any very fortunate events ‡.

* Sometimes he was painted in a chariot drawn by two he goats, and his head encircled with a crown of ſtars. Mallet, vol. p. 130.

† Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13.

‡ Mallet, chap. 7. &c.

END OF THE SECOND PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MANNERS, HABITS, ECT. OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, FROM THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A. D. 1066.

CHAP. I.

Government, Conſtitution, and Laws, of the Anglo-Saxons.

IN order to make this chapter the more conſpicuous, we broke off, in the former volume, at the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, only mentioning that the conquered lands, which were ſhared amongſt thoſe warriors, were, by them, parcelled out among their ſlaves and dependants, reſerving to themſelves ſuch a ſhare of the produce of thoſe lands ſo divided, as they thought proper to demand. This manner of proceeding naturally gave occaſion to the well known diviſion of their lands into Bockland and Folcland, as it was afterwards termed *.

The government of the Anglo-Saxons renewed.

Bockland was the name given to all thoſe lands that were firſt allotted to the original proprietors by whom ſuch eſtates were held, free from every kind of incumbrance or ſervice whatever, except the three following, which were indiſpenſably neceſſary for the general preſervation of the whole community, viz. Serving in the wars; repairing bridges; building and fortifying caſtles. Theſe eſtates were abſolutely the conquerors own, and perfectly at their diſpoſal, ſo that they might, at their pleaſure, either give them away to others in whole

Explanation of Bockland.

* See the firſt volume of this Chronicle, part 5, chap. 1. page 313, 314.

OF

or in part, or retain them for their heirs and deſcendants; and from thoſe perſons alone, who were poſſeſſed of ſuch eſtates, were the magiſtrates choſen, from the loweſt to the higheſt order*. This original eſtate, or Bockland, was uſually divided into two parts, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Inland and Outland; the former included ſuch part of the eſtate as lay contiguous to the proprietor's manſion, and was generally occupied by himſelf, and cultivated by his own dependants and ſlaves, for the immediate ſupport of himſelf and his family. The latter, or Outland, which is the ſame as Fockland, was ſuch part of the eſtate as lay more remote from the dwelling houſe of the proprietor; and this was alſo divided into two parts, one of which was let out to a ſort of tenants, or conditional occupiers of land, upon ſuch terms, and for ſuch a time, as the lord of the eſtate ſhould pleaſe. Theſe tenants were called by the Anglo-Saxons, Ceorls or Churls, and, perhaps, beſides the exaction their lord might make of ſuch a part as he thought proper of the produce of the lands, held by the Ceorls, for the ſupport of his own hoſpitality, they were obliged to give him perſonal marks of their dependance. The other part of the Outland was, if the eſtate of the proprietor was very conſiderable, ſubdivided into ſeparate portions, according to their ſize. Theſe diviſions, which were called Benifices, were beſtowed by the proprietor upon his faithful companions and followers, for ſuch a length of time as the donor ſhould think proper to limit, or, if he pleaſed, for ever. Theſe Benefices, or, as they were afterwards called Thane Lands, were freely beſtowed upon ſuch followers, and were to be held of them as a reward for their ſervice, and voluntary attendance, without any painful reſtraint, or obligation whatever, thoſe three only mentioned above, of attending in the wars, repairing bridges, and building and defending the caſtles; and not only the proprietor of the eſtate himſelf was ſubject to theſe obligations, but even the clergy, for a long time, were not excepted; and ſuch ſervices were by all agreedupon to be as indiſpenſably neceſſary for their own preſervation, as it was for that of the king himſelf.

Privileges of every freeholder, and his family.

Every free-born Anglo-Saxon, or proprietor of land, preſided as judge over his own ſlaves, his tenants, and his immediate dependants. He became reſponſible for every offence committed by any one of the members of his family, and was obliged to pay the fines incurred by ſuch offence‡. At their firſt ſettling in Britain, every freeholder not only decided all matters of diſpute which aroſe in his own family, but had alſo authority to puniſh the offenders in what manner he pleaſed, and

* Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 135, &c.

‡ So alſo, if a ſtranger ſtaid above three days and three nights in any family, the maſter of that family acquired the ſame authority over him, becauſe he became, in like manner, reſponſible for his conduct. Wilkin's Leg. Saxon. p. 9.

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in ſome caſes, to put them to death. But ſoon after their converſion to Chriſtianity, this great authority which the maſter of a family poſſeſſed, was reduced to narrower limits; for the life of a man, however abject his condition might be, was juſtly conſidered as of too much value to be left to the mercy of an individual.

Tything Courts.

In order to preſerve peace and unity amongſt maſters of families themſelves, ten families were formed into a ſociety called a Tything Freeburgh or Decennary, over which a magiſtrate preſided called Borſholder or Tything-man*. No freeman whatever could claim the protection of the law, unleſs he were a member of the Tything in which himſelf and his family reſided; but, on the contrary, ſuch a man was looked upon as an alien and vagabond. A good character was the abſolute requiſite that each man ſhould poſſeſs at his admittance as member of the Tything, for each member was pledge for his fellow, and the whole community were ſureties to the king for the good behaviour of all its members: this made them very cautious not to admit ſuſpected perſons into their ſocieties. Theſe Tythings formed within themſelves a little commonwealth, and they choſe for their Borſholder or Chief, one of the moſt reſpectable of the members, and who was moſt eſteemed for his wiſdom and experience. The Borſholder had authority to call all the members together, who, being aſſembled, conſtituted a court of juſtice, in which the Borſholder preſided, to ſee the ſentence of the court put into execution. In this aſſembly all little diſputes, and matters of private controverſy amongſt themſelves, were decided; but, in critical affairs, where the parties were not willing to abide by the ſentence of this court, the cauſe was referred to the next ſuperior court. In theſe aſſemblies, the arms belonging to the members of the Tything were frequently produced and examined; new members were admitted, and teſtimonials given to ſuch as were obliged to remove from this Tything to another; becauſe, as every Tything was anſwerable for the conduct of its members to the public, none could be eſteemed a member of a Tything where he did not reſide, as he could not be under the inſpection of thoſe who were anſwerable for his good behaviour. When any member of a Tything committed any crime, and made his eſcape, the Tything where he reſided was allowed thirty-one days to purſue him; but if, at the end of that time, the criminal could not be produced, the Borſhold, and two more of the moſt reſpectable members of that body, with the Borſholder, and two more members from three neighbouring Tythings, making in all twelve reſponſible men, were to take oath before a ſuperior magiſtrate, that it was not the fault of the Tything to which the criminal belonged that he had eſcaped, nor had

* Sometimes he was called Alderman of the Tything, but his moſt common name was Borſholder, from the Saxon words Boph, a Surety, and Alder, a Head or Chief. Spelman Gloſs in voce.

had any one of its members connived at his eſcape, but that they had all uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring him to juſtice: but if the evidence of their innocence was not perfectly clear, the Tything was obliged to pay the mulct proſcribed by the law for the offence that had been committed. However, in after times, this law was made eaſier; for the oath of all the members of the Tything only, to which the offender had belonged, was received as a ſufficient exculpation; but at the ſame time, they were obliged alſo to ſwear that they would give him up to juſtice as ſoon as he could be apprehended by them *. A great union generally ſubſiſted amongſt all the members of a Tything, who were ſtrongly attached to each others intereſts, and frequently united by the tyes of conſanguinity; they commonly fought together in one band, and often eat together in time of peace; each revenged the injury done to his fellow member as if it was done to himſelf; they each contributed to repair the loſs which any member might have ſuſtained by fire, or by any other dreadful calamity; if any one became poor, he was ſupported by the reſt of the community; all the members attended the funerals, marriages, and feſtivals of the neighbourſhip; if any quarrel happened at the common feſtivals of the ſociety, a ſevere fine was exacted of the aggreſſor; and, laſtly, if any one of the members forfeited his privileges by his bad conduct, he was ſolemnly expelled from the community, which was a laſting diſgrace, and total loſs of his character, for, from that moment, he was conſidered as an outlaw and a vagabond, and treated with univerſal contempt †.

Voluntary ſocieties formed upon the plan of Tythings.

The nobility and clergy were exempted from being members of any Tything, as that would have implied a miſtruſt of their good behaviour, unbecoming their dignity and character; yet the apparent advantages that aroſe from this excellent inſtitution, induced them to enter into voluntary aſſociations, in every reſpect reſembling thoſe of the Tything, excepting only that the one was the reſult of choice, the other of neceſſity. Each of theſe ſocieties, whether of Thanes, biſhops, abbots, or prieſts, had a chief or head, whoſe power was exactly ſimilar to that of the Borſholder; and moſt of them had common tables, at which the members often feaſted together: when a quarrel happened at their feaſts, the aggreſſor was obliged to pay the ſame fine as would have been exacted of a member of a Tything for the ſame offence. Several of their fines were paid in money or malt, un-

* Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 201, 202, &c.

† The advantages ariſing from this prudent, political regulation, were ſuch, that in the days of Ælfred the Great, when it was put in full execution, the kingdom was kept in ſuch order, and profound tranquillity, that a traveller had nothing to apprehend; and if, by accident, he might looſe a large ſum of money over-night, he was ſure of finding it the next morning, or, indeed, a month after, entire and untouched. Ingulph. Hiſt.

doubtedly

doubtedly with a view to furniſh mead and ale for their public entertainments *.

In order to ſettle ſuch diſputes as were of too high conſequence to be determined by the members of the Tything, or any altercation between the members of the different Tythings, a court, called the Hundred Court, was inſtituted. Every Hundred contained ten Tythings; and all the members of each Tything were alſo members of the Hundred Court, and obliged to attend its meetings under pain of a ſevere fine. This Court met once a month, and the magiſtrate who preſided in it was called the Hundredary. This officer, who was uſually a Thane or nobleman reſiding in the Hundred, was choſen by the ſuffrages of the members of the Court, and his poſt was productive of both honour and profit †: to him it belonged to appoint the times and places for the meeting of the Hundred Court, to inſpect the arms belonging to the Hundred, and to put its ſentences in force, &c. and for the execution of theſe offices, one third of the fines impoſed by this court, belonged to him, with a certain quantity of corn from each member, for the maintenance of his dogs, which were kept to deſtroy wolves, foxes, and other deſtructive animals. This officer was not only the civil magiſtrate in time of peace, but the captain or leader of the members of his Hundred in time of war. All the members, when they met at the court, came armed, and, before they proceeded to buſineſs, conſtantly touched the Hundredary's ſpear with the points of their own, as a token of their acknowledgment of his authority, and their willingneſs to fight under his command ‡. The archdeacon, and ſometimes the biſhop, preſided with the Hundredary, when matters both civil and eccleſiaſtical were regulated, and an inquiry was made into the ſtates of the ſeveral Tythings. The authority of this court did not extend ſo far as to condemn any perſon to death or ſlavery; and if any man thought himſelf injured by the deciſion of the members, he had full liberty to appeal to the next ſuperior court §. Every thing in this court was determined by the votes of the members, and the Hundredary had only the right to take the votes, and pronounce ſentence accordingly. Sales of land, and other important affairs relative to the members of the ſame Hundred, were publiſhed and confirmed publicly in the Hundred Court ‖. Hundred Courts

Nor was the government of towns and cities, at this time, much unlike the government of the Hundreds. The chief magiſtrate, in ſuch places, was uſually called the Alderman or Town-grieve; or, if Government of towns and cities.

* Dr. Hickes hath publiſhed the rules that the members of theſe ſocieties bound themſelves to obſerve. Hickeſii Diſſertatio Epiſt. p. 18.---22; and various laws were made reſpecting theſe voluntary aſſociations. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 725. ſub fin. Spelman, Concil. Brit. p. 407. 448. 495.

† Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 203.

§ Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc. Centenarii.

‖ Dugdale Origines Juridiciales, p. 27.

they were ſea-ports, the Port-grieve: his authority was much the ſame in his town or city with that of the Hundredary in his Hundred. The chief court was called Burgemote or Folcmote, which was a meeting of all the burgeſſes, in order to regulate the affairs of the community, and ſettle diſputes between the ſeveral members. Their meetings were uſually monthly; but, upon any extraordinary emergency, the Alderman had authority to call a court by the ſound of the mot-bell *.

Trything Courts. Three, four, or ſometimes more Hundreds, formed that diviſion of a ſhire or county as was called a Trything, and, in ſome places, a Lath. Every Trything had alſo a court of juſtice, the next in order above the Hundred Court, and the magiſtrate who preſided at this Court, was called the Trything-man, or Lath-grieve. The Court was compoſed of the ſeveral members of the Hundred Courts within the limits of the Trything, and herein were tried the appeals from the Hundred Court, and the cauſe of differences ſettled between the members of ſeparate Hundreds. Here alſo ſales of eſtates, laſt wills, and other important tranſactions, were publiſhed and confirmed †.

County Courts or Shiregemotes. The next court was the County Court, which was of great importance and authority amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, and may, indeed, be ſtiled a kind of little parliament, in which a great variety of conſequential buſineſs, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical, was tranſacted. In this court the alderman, or earl of the ſhire, together with the biſhop, ſhiregerieve, and the law-men, their aſſeſſors, preſided; and the members were compoſed of a general aſſembly of all the freeholders within the county or ſhire wherein the court was held, and from thence it was called the Shiregemote. The alderman or chief magiſtrate, who preſided at this court, was the earl of the ſhire, a perſon of the greateſt dignity and power amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, under the king himſelf. This office, therefore, was uſually given to the Thanes of the moſt extenſive eſtates, and moſt ancient families. They poſſeſſed both the civil and military government of their ſhires or counties, and aſſumed the title of ſub-king and prince in ſubſcribing to charters, and other deeds ‡. In the time of war, the alderman conducted all the military members of his ſhire to the battle, and was called Heretoge, which ſignifies a general, or commander of an army. In the moſt ancient period of the Anglo-Saxon government, theſe great officers were appointed by the king, but, in latter times, they were elected by the freeholders in their Shiregemote, or county court §. In order to ſupport their dignity with becoming ſtate, they were allowed certain lands, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Earls Land, and had alſo a right to one-third of all the fines impoſed within their ſhires, beſides other perqui-

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 204.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Selden's Tit. Hon. p. 502.
§ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 205.

ſites.

ſites *. Their office was not hereditary originally, nor indeed always for life; becauſe anciently it depended upon the good-will of the king, or their own unexceptionable behaviour †: but, in the latter times, the ſons of the aldermen frequently ſucceeded their fathers in their offices, which might be rather owing to the great power and influence of ſome few families, than any formal change in the conſtitution itſelf ‡.

The Shiregerieve, who aſſiſted the alderman at the county courts, and indeed when his lord was abſent ſupplied his place, was a man elected to that poſt from his knowledge in the laws and ſuperior learning; for although the alderman was conſtantly choſen from the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages of the ſhire, yet in general the nobility were much more addicted to arms than to letters, and far better ſoldiers than lawyers: many of them alſo had offices at court that frequently required their preſence, which, together with other engagements, might occaſion them often to be abſent from the county courts. To remedy theſe inconveniencies, an officer was choſen in every ſhire, called the Shiregerieve, who was the alderman's aſſeſſor in judgment, and his chief miniſter in the diſcharge of every part of his duty §. In the more early times, the Shiregerieve was choſen by the king, but towards the concluſion of the Saxon government, he was elected by the freeholders in the county court ‖. The Shiregerieve, who he was.

Other aſſiſtants to the alderman were the Reed-boran or lahmen ¶, or lawyers, who were brought up in the ſtudy of the written law, and after they had paſſed an examination as to the knowledge of their profeſſion, they were appointed aſſeſſors to the aldermen, ſhiregerieves and hundredaries, and others acted as advocates and pleaders at the bar **. In ancient times, when few people had the knowledge of letters, three of theſe lahmen were thought ſufficient to aſſiſt at the judgments of the county court; but as learning increaſed, their number was augmented firſt to ſeven, and afterwards to twelve ††. Theſe aſſeſſors took a ſolemn oath faithfully to perform all the duties of their office, and neither ſuffer an innocent man to be condemned, nor an offender to eſcape ‡‡. Some have attributed the inſtitution of lahmen, as aſſeſſors, to Ælfred the Great; but there is ſufficient evidence of their greater antiquity §§. Lahmen, or lawyers.

The meeting of the Shiregemote was opened by a diſcourſe from the biſhop, who explained from the ſcriptures and cannon laws, the duties of the members, as good Chriſtians: after that, the alderman, Manner of conducting buſineſs in the Shiregemote.

* Spel. Gloſſ. p. 141, 142.
† Ibid.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt, Brit. vol. 2. p. 244.
§ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Grafio.
‖ Wilkin Leg. Sax. p. 203.
¶ Ibid. 205.
** Hickeſii Diſſer. Epiſt. p. 34.
†† Du Cange Gloſſ. & Wilkin Leg. ut ſup.
‡‡ Ibid. p. 177.
§§ Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 246.

or his aſſiſtant, ſpoke concerning the laws of the land, and explained the duties of good ſubjects and citizens. Theſe preambles being finiſhed, they proceeded to execute the buſineſs brought before them, determining firſt the cauſes of the church; next the pleas of the crown; and, laſtly, the controverſies of private parties *. Every cauſe (being firſt explained and underſtood by the members of the court, and the evidence on either ſide duly delivered) was determined by the votes of the whole aſſembly: theſe votes were collected by the lahmen, who drew up, and pronounced the ſentence †. Alſo, when any material law queſtion aroſe in the courſe of a trial, ſuch queſtion was anſwered by the lahmen from the dome-boc, or book of laws, which was always lying before them in the court ‡. A great variety of buſineſs was tranſacted at the Shiregemote, relative to ſales of land, and donations to the church; the publication and confirmation of charters; beſides the trials of civil and criminal cauſes §.

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The Shiregemote often continued for ſeveral days, and was uſually called twice in the year; but as all the buſineſs of the county could not conveniently be tranſacted at theſe times, a ſmaller, or aſſiſtant court, was held every fourth week by the Shiregerieve, in order to determine ſuch cauſes as had been left untried in the Shiregemote. Theſe ſmaller county courts are often diſtinguiſhed by the name of Folcmotes, and as only inferior cauſes were here tried, none were obliged to attend them but the ſhiregerieve, the law men, and thoſe who had immediate buſineſs, as the parties and the witneſſes in the cauſes to be tried ‖.

The Wittenagemote or Parliament.

The next, and higheſt court, was called the Wittenagemot, in which was lodged the whole legiſlative power of the community, and the ſupreme authority over all perſons, and in all cauſes, eccleſiaſtical and civil. By the authority of this court alone, ancient cuſtoms were reformed, old laws amended or repealed, and new ſtatutes enacted: here lay all appeals from the determinations of each county; and here ſuch cauſes were finally determined. No tax could be levied upon any member of the community without the previous conſent and approbation of this great aſſembly, by whoſe authority the proportion of the aſſeſſment, as well as the manner of the collection, was determined. Here alſo war was declared againſt foreign powers, or peace eſtabliſhed; public quarrels revenged, and reparation made to the injured nation. In this aſſembly alſo, the principal eccleſiaſtical affairs were tranſacted; biſhops appointed, or at leaſt approved; and both them and aldermen, with other great officers of the nation, were herein cenſured for neglect of duty, or even depoſed, if their of-

* Spelman's Remains.
† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 31, 32.
‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 48.
§ Hickeſii Diſſert. p. 80.
‖ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 50.

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fence was very great and notorious; ſo that the Wittenagemot, in which all the wiſdom and power of the ſtate was ſuppoſed to be collected, was juſtly eſteemed its beſt guide and guardian againſt all external or internal grievances whatever *. During the continuation of the Heptarchy, there were as many of theſe aſſemblies as there were kingdoms; but as ſoon as thoſe kingdoms were united into one monarchy, all the Wittenagemots were formed into one great aſſembly, or Micklemot, as it is often called.

The Anglo-Saxon king, and his offices.

The chief perſonage who preſided at theſe courts was called the Cyning or king, whoſe poſt was the moſt honourable as well as the moſt powerful in the kingdom. It is indeed true, that when our Saxon anceſtors firſt quitted Germany, and landed in Britain, under the conduct of Hengiſt, that chieftain only bore the title of Heretoge, or general; and his office, in his native country, as we have ſeen before, was temporary, and to continue only ſo long as the cauſe of his election ſubſiſted; but on their arrival in Britain, the reſiſtance they met with was ſo vigorous, and of ſuch continuance, that they were conſtantly obliged to be prepared to defend their poſſeſſions, ſo that the office of the general could not be vacated; and, at laſt, thoſe leaders, if not by the deſire, at leaſt with the conſent of their followers, aſſumed the honourable title of Cyning or king †. It is not, however, in the leaſt likely that the leader obtained, with this title, any more authority over his followers than what he formerly had, or that this ſtep made any material alteration in their original conſtitution. The duties of the king, in the light he was afterwards conſidered, were principally theſe two, viz. in time of war to conduct his ſubjects to the field, and, in time of peace, to adminiſter juſtice to them. In regard to the firſt, when we conſider the Saxons at, and ſhortly after, their eſtabliſhment in Britain, and reflect upon their ſituation, obliged at all times to be prepared to defend with force what by force they had won, we may reaſonably imagine, that the perſonal attendance of their king, in time of war, muſt have been conſidered as an indiſpenſable duty, ſo that it was long thought to be improper to place a king upon the throne who was not a warrior; for which reaſon, many who were well entitled to the crown, were excluded on account of their age or ſex. Some of the Anglo-Saxon kings, however, when they were in poſſeſſion of the government, manifeſted a ſluggiſh and unwarlike diſpoſition; and, as they either could not, or would not, attend the war perſonally, they were at laſt allowed a ſubſtitute, who was called the Cynings-hold, or king's lieutenant, and his authority extended over all the heretoges or leaders of the ſeveral counties of the king's dominions ‡. The ſecond duty of the king was the adminiſtration of juſtice. That the Anglo-Saxon monarchs were conſidered

* Squire on the Eng. Conſt. p. 186---197.

† Ibid. p. 194.

‡ Ibid. p. 213, in a note.

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fence was very great and notorious; ſo that the Wittenagemot, in which all the wiſdom and power of the ſtate was ſuppoſed to be collected, was juſtly eſteemed its beſt guide and guardian againſt all external or internal grievances whatever *. During the continuation of the Heptarchy, there were as many of theſe aſſemblies as there were kingdoms; but as ſoon as thoſe kingdoms were united into one monarchy, all the Wittenagemots were formed into one great aſſembly, or Micklemot, as it is often called.

The Anglo-Saxon king, and his offices.

The chief perſonage who preſided at theſe courts was called the Cyning or king, whoſe poſt was the moſt honourable as well as the moſt powerful in the kingdom. It is indeed true, that when our Saxon anceſtors firſt quitted Germany, and landed in Britain, under the conduct of Hengiſt, that chieftain only bore the title of Heretoge, or general; and his office, in his native country, as we have ſeen before, was temporary, and to continue only ſo long as the cauſe of his election ſubſiſted; but on their arrival in Britain, the reſiſtance they met with was ſo vigorous, and of ſuch continuance, that they were conſtantly obliged to be prepared to defend their poſſeſſions, ſo that the office of the general could not be vacated; and, at laſt, thoſe leaders, if not by the deſire, at leaſt with the conſent of their followers, aſſumed the honourable title of Cyning or king †. It is not, however, in the leaſt likely that the leader obtained, with this title, any more authority over his followers than what he formerly had, or that this ſtep made any material alteration in their original conſtitution. The duties of the king, in the light he was afterwards conſidered, were principally theſe two, viz. in time of war to conduct his ſubjects to the field, and, in time of peace, to adminiſter juſtice to them. In regard to the firſt, when we conſider the Saxons at, and ſhortly after, their eſtabliſhment in Britain, and reflect upon their ſituation, obliged at all times to be prepared to defend with force what by force they had won, we may reaſonably imagine, that the perſonal attendance of their king, in time of war, muſt have been conſidered as an indiſpenſable duty, ſo that it was long thought to be improper to place a king upon the throne who was not a warrior; for which reaſon, many who were well entitled to the crown, were excluded on account of their age or ſex. Some of the Anglo-Saxon kings, however, when they were in poſſeſſion of the government, manifeſted a ſluggiſh and unwarlike diſpoſition; and, as they either could not, or would not, attend the war perſonally, they were at laſt allowed a ſubſtitute, who was called the Cynings-hold, or king's lieutenant, and his authority extended over all the heretoges or leaders of the ſeveral counties of the king's dominions ‡. The ſecond duty of the king was the adminiſtration of juſtice. That the Anglo-Saxon monarchs were conſidered

* Squire on the Eng. Conſt. p. 186---197.

† Ibid. p. 194.

‡ Ibid. p. 213, in a note.

as

as the chief judges in their reſpective kingdoms, and often adminiſtered juſtice perſonally, cannot be contradicted; and indeed they were bound to do it by their coronation oath. Ælfred the Great, in particular, frequently employed great part of his time in hearing cauſes that were brought before him, and alſo appeals from the ſentence of inferior judges, which he often changed, and ſometimes ſeverely reprimanded the judges for their ignorance, commanding them either to make themſelves perfect in the ſtudy of the law, or reſign their offices to ſuch as were better qualified *. If he found their wrong judgments proceeded from malice or corruption, he puniſhed them with the greateſt ſeverity †. To aſſiſt the king in the performance of this part of his royal office, he was conſtantly attended by a council formerly made up of his followers or Thanes, and the governors of the ſeveral counties; but after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, to theſe were added the biſhops and others of the dignified clergy, whoſe wiſdom and ſuperior abilities pointed them out as the moſt proper men to be counſellors of ſtate ‡. To render the attendance of theſe counſellors more convenient to them, Ælfred divided them into three equal parts, and they ſucceeded each other monthly §. But after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy in England, this part of the royal office became exceſſively burthenſome to the king, by the prodigious number of appeals from every part of the kingdom, and but few of them had either ſufficient knowledge, induſtry, or, indeed, leiſure to go through it in perſon. Several laws were therefore made to prevent unneceſſary appeals to the king; and a chief juſticiary was appointed to preſide in the king's court to perform the judicial part of this office whilſt he was abſent, or otherwiſe employed ‖. It is not indeed quite certain when this great officer was firſt commiſſioned: it is, however, generally thought to have been ſome time during the tenth century. Æthelſtan, a very potent Thane, in the reign of king Æthelſtan, was advanced to this high office (and perhaps he was the firſt that enjoyed it) and, at the ſame time, the title of half-king was conferred on him, becauſe he performed one half of the king's office, which conſiſted in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aylwin, who bore a more modeſt title, viz. Alderman of all England ¶. After the inſtitution of this office, which long continued to be the higheſt in the ſtate, the kings, by degrees, left the whole management of this part of their duty to their chief juſticiaries, and other judges.

* Aſſer. in Vita Ælfredi.

† Le Mirroir de Juſtices, lib. 5. declares, that Ælfred condemned to death no leſs than forty-two judges, whom he diſcovered to be corrupt and unjuſt.

‡ Squire, p. 181 & ſeq.

§ Aſſer. Vit. Ælf.

‖ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 77. 250. Spel. Gloſſ. in voce Juſticiarius.

¶ Selden Tit. Hon. p. 505.

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Prerogatives of the king.

The Anglo-Saxon king was far from being an abſolute monarch, for, on the contrary, his power and prerogatives were limitted by the laws and cuſtoms of his country. They could neither make laws, or impoſe taxes, without the advice and conſent of the Wittenagemot, or great council of the nation; and although they could upon any ſudden invaſion, rebellion, or ſuch emergency, put themſelves at the head of their troops, by their own authority, to preſerve the public ſafety, yet they had not the power to make a formal declaration of war againſt any neighbouring people without the conſent of the grand council, in which alſo alone was inveſted the power of proclaiming peace *. One of the chief privileges annexed to the crown was, the authority inveſted in the king to portion out conquered lands, and divide the ſpoils taken from the enemy; but yet they could, by no means, aſſert this prerogative too greatly in their own favour, nor keep more than one-third of ſuch lands or ſpoils to themſelves, without incurring the indignation of their troops †. In the times of paganiſm, the king could not puniſh any of his ſoldiers for deſertion, or any other offence, this being the office of the prieſts alone; but upon the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the exerciſe of military diſcipline ſeems to have become one of the royal prerogatives ‡. The king (that he might not deprive any injured perſon of his right) had no power to remit the fines impoſed upon any criminal by a court of juſtice; but he poſſeſſed the privilege of changing a capital into a pecuniary puniſhment §. In the early ſtages of the Anglo-Saxon government, the nomination of the civil and military officers appears to have been one of the royal prerogatives; but this power was afterwards taken from the king, and veſted in the great council, though at what time, or upon what occaſion, cannot clearly be determined. At the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity, the Anglo-Saxon kings ſeem to have left to the clergy the principal government of the eccleſiaſtical affairs, and the choice of perſons to fill the offices of the church; but by degrees it was found neceſſary, for the peace and good government of the ſtate, that the king ſhould interfere more directly in the promotion of the clergy, and be careful that the eccleſiaſtical offices ſhould be filled by men who were well affected to government. The king firſt obtained a right of approving, and, at length, of appointing all the dignitaries of the church ‖. Hereditary titles, unconnected with offices, were unknown among the Anglo-Saxons; the granting ſuch titles, therefore, could not be any part of the king's prerogative. The authority of re-

* Squire on Eng. Conſtit. p. 186.

† Malmſbury ſays, that one of the chief cauſes of Harold's ruin was, his retaining to himſelf a larger proportion of the Daniſh and Norwegian ſpoils than was cuſtomary; by which means he ſo much offended his army, that a great part of them deſerted from him as he marched againſt the conqueror. Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 13.

‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 23.

§ Ibid. p. 36. 201.

‖ Spel. Concil. p. 387.

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gulating the public coin was veſted in the Wittenagemot, and the king might not enhance or debaſe its value without the conſent of that council. The privilege of coining money was not confined to the king alone, but was granted to the archbiſhop, biſhops, and chief towns *. The king had authority, upon all extraordinary occaſions, to convene the Wittenagemot, and to appoint the time and place of its meeting. In this aſſembly he alſo preſided, and propoſed the ſubjects of deliberation to the members, pronounced the public determination, and was afterwards entruſted with the execution thereof. He had alſo the honour of having his name ſet firſt to all acts of ſtate. It is hardly worth the labour of being more particular in the deſcription of the prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon kings, of which thoſe above-mentioned are evidently the principal, and from them it may plainly be ſeen to what narrow limits they were circumſcribed †.

The revenues of the kings.

The revenue of the Anglo-Saxon kings, like thoſe of other great men, conſiſted chiefly in their own patrimonial eſtates, or that ſhare of the conquered lands, which, at the firſt diviſion, became their due; for every original poſſeſſor of land, as he obtained it by the point of the ſword, received it as his own ſole property, without being ſubject to any payments to the king, or other magiſtrates, or, indeed, any ſervice, excepting thoſe three indiſpenſable duties of fighting to defend the country, keeping the highways and bridges in repair, and in fortifying caſtles. In order, therefore, the better to ſupport the dignity of the king, it was found neceſſary, in every ſtate, to aſſign a certain portion of lands, with their ſlaves, cattle, houſes, &c. the rents of which were annually to be paid to him; and upon his acceſſion to the throne, he was put in poſſeſſion of theſe lands, which, however, he had no power to alienate without the conſent of the Wittenagemot; for ſuch lands, ſtrictly ſpeaking, did not belong to the king, but to the crown, Out of the produce of theſe crown lands, and their own eſtates, which were uſually cultivated by ſlaves and Ceorls, the Anglo-Saxon monarchs ſupported their houſhold ‡. The next ſource, from which the king derived his wealth, was the portion of all the fines and mulcts impoſed on criminals by the courts of juſtice within his dominion; in ſome caſes, one-half, but generally one-third of ſuch mulct became his due; and the profits ariſing from hence muſt have been very conſiderable at that time, when the puniſhment for almoſt every offence was the payment of certain ſums of money proportioned to the crime §. Theſe were the great branches of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs; but beſides theſe, ſome profits, and thoſe

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. pag. 59.
† Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, p. 219.
‡ Ibid. p. 219.
§ Wilkins Leg. Sax.

not

not very inconſiderable, were derived from foreign and domeſtic trade *.

It is true, that under the oppreſſive rule of the Daniſh kings, the tax called Dane-geld, became one of the chief branches of the royal revenue. This tax, which ſeems to have been firſt impoſed by the conſent of the Wittenagemot, A. D. 991, was intended either to bribe the Danes to deſiſt from their depredations, and leave the country, or to pay a conſiderable body of troops to defend the coaſts againſt them. At firſt, it conſiſted of one Saxon ſhilling upon every hide of land in the kingdom †; but ſoon after it was raiſed to two, and at laſt to ſeven ſhillings; and it continued to be levied even after the original occaſion of impoſing it had ceaſed. Certain it is, that whilſt the Danes were continually invading the land, Æthelred, or his ſon, could derive no great profit from this tax, the whole being laid out in bribing the Danes, or paying the ſoldiers who fought againſt them. But when the Daniſh kings ſucceeded to the throne, and peace was eſtabliſhed, this enormous tax muſt have filled their coffers. It was collected with ſuch ſeverity in the reign of king Cnut, A. D. 1018, that it amounted to the prodigious ſum of ſeventy-one thouſand Saxon pounds, beſides the ſum of eleven thouſand of the ſame pounds which was exacted of the citizens of London ‡. It appears, however, that this tax was too great to be paid by the diſtreſſed inhabitants of England in one year, ſo that thoſe who were not able to produce the money loſt their lands and poſſeſſions §. This tax was afterwards reduced to four ſhillings on each hide, at which rate it continued until it was finally aboliſhed.

Dane-geld.

Having thus ſhewn the importance of the great council, or Witte-nagemot, and the dignity and offices of the king, or the chief magiſtrate who preſided in them, we ſhall now proceed to examine the members of this great aſſembly. All archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, preſbyters, aldermen, heretoges, ſhiregerieves, domeſmen, or judges, were, by virtue of their offices, and on account of their wiſdom and knowledge of the laws, members of the Wittenagemot: as alſo was every proprietor of land within the kingdom, whether of the clergy or the laity, if he was arrived at an approved age, and had not forfeited his title by any miſdemeanor. For the Wittenagemot was nothing elſe than a collection of all the members of the ſeveral Shiregemots of that particular ſtate or kingdom where the aſſemblies were held. It is true, indeed, that many, from poſſeſſing greater quantities of land, from the number of their dependants, or their ſuperior valour and wiſdom,

Members of the Wittenagemot.

* A part of the profits of all commodities, bought or ſold, was payable to the king, when the price of ſuch commodities amounted to more than twenty-pence. See chap. 5. of this part of the Chronicle.

† There were 243,600 hides of land in England; this tax, at one ſhilling on each hide, raiſed 12,180 Saxon pounds, equal in quantity of ſilver to 36,540 pounds ſterling, and in efficacy to more than 360,000 pounds of our preſent money.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 1018.

§ Leland's Collect. vol. 1. p. 11.

might, perhaps, have more influence in these assemblies than those who were not endowed with such extraordinary qualifications *.

Ceorls and burgesses not members of the Wittenagemot.

It is generally acknowledged, that the Ceorls, and others who possessed no land of their own, but farmed such as belonged to others, were not looked upon as constituent members of the Wittenagemot, and, consequently, had no share in the administration of public affairs: it is also thought, that the inhabitants of trading towns were represented by their aldermen or portrieve. However, it may be reasonably supposed, that such Ceorls or burgesses as dwelt near the place where the Wittenagemot was held, might attend as interested spectators, and intimate their satisfaction, when the resolves of the council were agreeable to them, by shouts of applause †.

Meetings of the Wittenagemot.

As the members of the Wittenagemot were very numerous, especially after the union of the Heptarchy, such assemblies were usually held in a large open field, and most commonly by the side of a river for the conveniency of water. The appointing the time and place for these assemblies belonged to the king, who also, when they were met, proposed to them the subjects of debate which had been previously determined upon between him and his council ‡; and such a regulation as this was very necessary in so large an assembly, who were certainly more fit to determine such affairs as were laid before them, and well explained, than to propose the subjects of dispute themselves. The Anglo-Saxons, whilst they continued in their idolatrous worship, had, as was customary in Germany, stated times for the meeting of the Wittenagemot, which being well known to all the members, they usually came thither without any particular summonses.

Stated times for the assemblies to meet.

After their conversion to Christianity, these assemblies generally met on the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, at whatever place the court happened to reside at that time. It is thought by some authors, and with great show of reason, that as these ordinary meetings of the Wittenagemot were so frequent, they could not be very numerous, composed, perhaps, but of few more than the great men and nobles, who were of the king's court and council; and that, therefore, they acted, on this occasion, rather in their ministerial and judicial, than their legislative capacity: but, on any emergency, when the council and authority of the whole nation was wanted, either to make new laws, impose taxes, or declare war, a more solemn meeting

* Squire on the Eng. Constitut. p. 174, & Dr. Hen. Hist. Brit. vol. 2. p. 265.

† And these seem to be the people recorded in these terms: "Omnique populo audiente & videnteq;" *and all the people hearing and looking on.* "Aliorumque fidelium infinita multitudo, qui omnes laudaverunt;" *a vast croud of other people, who all applauded.* Spel. Concil. p. 350---625.

‡ Squire on the Eng. Constitut. p. 178. & infra.

was

was called, and every perſon, who had a right to be preſent, was ſummoned *.

The members of the Wittenagemot enjoyed ſeveral privileges, and it was particularly enacted by the laws, that their perſons ſhould not be moleſted whilſt they were on their way to the council, or whilſt they attended the buſineſs of that place; and if any one broke the peace at this time by his unruly behaviour, he was puniſhed ſeverely by a much heavier fine than ordinary †. Privileges of the members of the wittenagemot.

The attendance upon the Wittenagenot, during the time of the Heptarchy, could not be ſo exceedingly inconvenient as it became after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy; for, at that time, ſuch as were ſituated in the more remote parts of the kingdom, and whoſe original poſſeſſions, either through the misfortunes of war, or the increaſe of their families, were conſiderably diminiſhed, muſt have found it very difficult to ſupport themſelves, even by their conſtant application to their domeſtic labours; but, to be alſo often obliged to attend the great council, muſt have been an almoſt inſupportable hardſhip; to remedy which, as it is thought, about the time of king Ælfred, ſuch communities as were very diſtant, deputed their borſholder, or tythingman, to ſupply their place in the Wittenagemot, and to repreſent them there, and to take care of the common concerns in the public debates and determinations. The king, undoubtedly, would hardly object to ſuch delegations, as, by this means, the aſſembly became leſs numerous, and, of conſequence, more governable ‡. Delegatory members of the Wittenagemot.

Having ſeen thus much of the Saxon government, we ſhall proceed to examine the different claſſes of people of which the nation was compoſed. The next perſon in rank to the crowned head was the eldeſt ſon of the king, and preſumptive heir to the crown; he was uſually honoured with the title of Ætheling, or the Moſt Noble §; and, after him, were the princes of the royal family, who were diſtinguiſhed by the title of Clitones, or Illuſtrious ‖. Ranks of perſons, and firſt of the princes of the blood.

The only nobility amongſt the Anglo-Saxons were the Thanes, who were a very numerous body, comprehending all the chief landholders in the kingdom. Theſe, in time of war, formed the flower of the army, and, in time of peace, augmented the ſplendour of the king's court; and from theſe all chief officers, either civil or military, were choſen. Such as were not elected to any lucrative office ſupported themſelves by the produce of their own lands, and their conſequence and ſplendour were in proportion to their eſtate. There were ſeveral degrees of theſe nobility among the Anglo-Saxons; but, at this diſ- Thanes, the only Saxon nobility.

* Such extraordinary meetings ſeem to be all thoſe great national councils mentioned by our hiſtorians, which were called only upon extraordinary occaſions; and this may account for the elapſe we frequently find of ſeveral years between ſuch meetings. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 267.

† Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 146.

‡ Squire on the Eng. Conſt. p. 141, 142, 143.

§ Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‖ Ibid.

tance of time, it is impoſſible to mark out preciſely the diſtinctions between them. The loweſt order of Thanes ſeem to be thoſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Earls, or Aldermans Thane; the next were ſuch as had obtained their title by promotion in the church, or ſucceſs in trade. The king's Thanes were the moſt honourable: theſe ſeem to have been divided into three claſſes according to their different degrees of wealth *. There is not the leaſt ſhadow of a doubt that theſe Thanes were originally the friends and companions of Hengiſt, Cerdic, Ælla, and the reſt of the Saxon chiefs, when they left Germany, and founded the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in Britain; and that they were the ſame with the Comites, or companions, mentioned to have exiſted among the ancient Germans †.

The Ceorl, or huſbandman.

The next claſs of people, who formed a very numerous body among our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, were the Ceorls, or huſbandmen; but our antiquaries are ſomewhat divided in their opinions concerning theſe people; ſome affirming that they were, in general, not only completely free themſelves, but deſcendants from freemen, and compoſed of the original proprietors of land, and their ſucceſſors; and that all ſuch Ceorls had a poſitive right to be members of the Wittenagemot ‡: but others aſſert, that they are the ſame with the Frilazins, or thoſe who had formerly been ſlaves, but, by purchaſe, or good behaviour, had obtained their liberty, ſome of them being ſlaves, brought over by the Saxons from Germany, and others, natives of the conquered land whom they had enſlaved upon their eſtabliſhment in Britain §; but, by whatever method they obtained their freedom, it is certain that they enjoyed it, and might purſue whatever method of life beſt ſuited with their genius or convenience ‖. However, ſo great a number of them applied themſelves to agriculture, and tillage of land, that Ceorl became the moſt common title amongſt our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors for a farmer or huſbandman.

* This may ſufficiently appear from the hereots paid to the king at their death. The hereot of a king's Thane, of the firſt claſs, was four horſes, two ſaddled, and two unſaddled; four ſwords, four ſpears, four ſhields, and one hundred mancuſſes of gold. For the king's Thane of the ſecond claſs was paid two horſes, one ſaddled, and one not, two ſwords, two ſpears, two ſhields, and fifty mancuſſes of gold; and for the king's Thane, of the laſt claſs, was paid one horſe ſaddled, and the Thane's arms. Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 144.

† See volume the firſt of this work, p. 311.

‡ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 231 & 263.

§ Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 111.

‖ Free indeed they were (ſays Squire) as to their perſons, as free as any other members of the community; nor was that ſmall peculium, or ſhare of profit which their induſtry might acquire, ſubject to the arbitrary will of any one. What they got by their ſkill and labour was really their own, and they might diſpoſe of it by will, or in what other manner they pleaſed. They were, moreover, ſometimes entruſted to bear arms for the ſociety under whoſe protection they lived. Theſe ſeem to be the ſole privileges they were in a capacity of enjoying, for they were obliged to marry within their own order, nor had they as yet any expectation of being admitted as members of the great council. Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 110, 111.

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The Ceorls, however, had great advantages ſet before them; for if one of them, either by the bounty of his lord whoſe land he farmed, or by his own ſuperior ſkill and induſtry, proſpered ſo well as to obtain the property of five hides of land upon which he had a church, a kitchen, a bell-houſe, and a gate-houſe, and acquired a ſeat and an office in the king's court, he was, from that time, eſteemed a Thane or nobleman, and entitled to all the privileges belonging thereto *. If he applied to learning, and attained to prieſts orders, he alſo obtained the privileges of a thane, his were-gild was the ſame, and his teſtimony had the ſame weight in a court of juſtice †. If he applied to trade, and croſſed the ſea three times in a ſhip that was his own property, and a cargo of his own, he alſo obtained the dignity of a thane ‡. If his inclination led him to follow a martial employment, he became a ſithcund man, or military retainer to ſome powerful earl or alderman, and was called his huſcorle §. If this ceorle by his good behaviour obtained from his patron either five hydes of land, or the donation of a gilt ſword, helmet and breaſtplate, as a reward for his valour, he was likewiſe conſidered as a thane ‖. Advantages that the ceorls might make uſe of.

If the ceorls, and the frilazin, were really two diſtinct claſſes of people, the latter was without doubt the loweſt; theſe were evidently ſuch as had been ſlaves, and by ſome means or other had acquired their liberty ¶; "though they were in reality free-men, yet they were not conſidered as of the ſame rank and quality with thoſe who had been born free, but yet remained in a more ignoble and dependant condition either on their former maſters, or ſome new patrons **." The frilazin.

The laſt and loweſt order of people amongſt the Saxons, were ſlaves, who with their wives and families were the ſole property of their maſters: of this rank were not only thoſe who were ſlaves by birth, but often free-men, who fell into that unhappy condition by the fate of war, by bad ſucceſs in gaming ††, by forfeiting their freedom by breach of the laws, or, laſtly, by contracting debts too large for them to pay ‡‡: Theſe miſerable wretches who were very numerous, formed an article of domeſtic and foreign trade §§, the employments aſſigned for the ſlaves were various, ſome (who were called villani, or villans, from their dwelling at villages belonging to their lords) cultivated the lands, and were transferred with ſuch lands from one owner to another ‖‖; Slaves the loweſt claſs of people.

* "That is (ſays Squire in his Eſſay on the Engliſh conſtitut.) he had the privilege of ſitting in the wittenagemot or great aſſembly, and his weregild, or the price of his life, was raiſed from 200 to 1200 ſhillings. Squire's eſſay, p. 116, & Wilkin leg. Sax. p. 70.

† Spelman, concil. p. 405.

‡ Wilkins leg. Sax. p. 71.

§ Spel. Gloſ. in voce.

‖ Wilkins leg. Sax. p. 71.

¶ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Frilazin.

** Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 230.

†† Vide vol. 1. of this work, pag. 360.

‡‡ Leges Inæ, c. 7.

§§ If the ſlave was a Chriſtian, he might not be ſold to a Jew or Pagan, or if he belonged to the ſame nation as his maſter, he might not be ſold beyond ſea. Leges Inæ, ut ſup.

‖‖ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Villanus.

others

others performed the various domeſtic offices in the houſes of their maſters. Some of the king's domeſtic ſlaves, as well as thoſe of the nobility, were taught the mechanic arts, which they practiſed for the benefit of their maſters, and indeed moſt of the mechanics of this age appear to have been compoſed of the loweſt order of the people. If a ſlave was killed by his maſter, no mulct was paid, becauſe the maſter was ſuppoſed to be the only loſer; but if the ſlave was killed by another, the maſter received his price or manbote *.

The miſeries of ſlavery made lighter.

The miſeries of ſlavery were by degrees made lighter, eſpecially upon the introduction of Chriſtianity amongſt the Anglo-Saxons; for by the canons of the church, ſlaves were allowed certain portions of time to work for themſelves; the biſhops alſo had a right to appoint the quantity of work that a ſlave was to perform, and prevent the maſter from uſing him too ſeverely †; the biſhops and clergy alſo recommended, as the moſt charitable action, the manumiſſion of ſlaves, and ſet the example themſelves by an eſtabliſhed law, commanding that at the death of a biſhop, every one of his ſlaves ſhould receive their freedom, and that every other biſhop and abbot within the kingdom ſhould ſet three ſlaves at liberty ‡. But notwithſtanding all theſe prudent regulations, the greater part of the common people remained in that ſervile ſtate at the end of the Saxon government.

Ranks of women.

As to the ranks of women, little need be ſaid upon that head, for they were always of the ſame rank with their parents before marriage, and of their huſbands afterwards; female ſlaves were ſeldom married to a freeman, before they had obtained their own freedom §.

Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

Having taken this tranſient view of the government of our Anglo-Saxons, our next ſtep will be to make ſome general obſervations upon the laws eſtabliſhed among them. The laws of England are of two kinds, viz. the unwritten or common law, founded upon general and even particular cuſtoms and maxims that have exiſted from time immemorial, and the written, or ſtatute laws, which comprehend the ſtatutes, acts or edicts, made by the king with the advice of his council, and the concurrence of the nobility and the great aſſembly of the kingdom ‖.

Three ſyſtems of laws.

The firſt written laws of our anceſtors were extremely conciſe, and not very numerous; in the beginning of the tenth century, three principal ſyſtems prevailed in different parts of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, as the Weſt Saxon law, the Mercian law, and the Dane law; by the firſt, the weſtern part of the kingdom were governed, by the ſecond, the midland counties, and the third, which ſpeaks its own origin, prevailed in the northern counties, and Norfolk and Suffolk the chief ſeats of the

* Dr. Henry, vol. 2. p. 229.
† Spel. Concil, p. 405, &c.
‡ Ibid. p. 330.—331.
§ Hickeſii Diſſertatio Epiſt. p. 13.
‖ Blackſtone's Comment. vol. 1. Introd. Section 3.

Danes.

Danes. But theſe three ſyſtems of laws are not ſuppoſed to have differed from each other in the moſt eſſential part or general matter, but only, or at leaſt chiefly, in the variation of the prices or mulcts affixed to the particular offences, which were higher in ſome parts of the kingdom than they were in others *.

Laws againſt theft.

The great object of the Anglo Saxon penal laws, ſeems to have been to repair and make amends for injuries, rather than to puniſh crimes, for they made little or no difference between an injury committed through deliberate malice, and one done in the ſudden guſt of an unruly paſſion. Cnut, however, ſeems to have taken the matter into conſideration, for one of his laws commands a difference to be made between an accidental and a wilful offence. The ſecurity of a man's property muſt at all times have been a great object; we may therefore reaſonably expect to find the thief obnoxious to very ſevere penalties. In the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchy, however, theft of the moſt atrocious kind, ſuch as robbing churches, or the king's palace, did not ſubject the thief to any corporal puniſhment; but if he was detected, the reſtoration he was obliged to make rendered thieving a very dangerous employment. By the laws of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, all church robberies were obliged to be compenſated by a twelve-fold reſtoration; what was ſtolen from a biſhop was to be returned eleven fold; from a king or prieſt, nine fold; from a deacon, ſix-fold; from other clerks, three fold †; the ſame three-fold compenſation was to be made to every individual freeman; and if the thief was alſo a freeman, his goods were confiſcated to the king ‡. By degrees it was found neceſſary to make the penalties againſt theft more ſevere, and Wihtred, king of Kent, who flouriſhed nearly a century after Ethelbert, made a law, that a thief who was detected in the act of pilfering, might be ſlain with impunity, if he either attempted to eſcape or offered to make reſiſtance §; and Ina, king of Weſſex, who was cotemporary with Wihtred, made theft a capital crime, but at the ſame time the friends or relations of the robber might redeem his life, by the payment of ſuch a fine as his life was valued at by law, according to his rank and dignity ‖. By the laws of Athelſtan, made A. D. 926, a theft muſt amount to the value of eight-pence ¶ at leaſt, to make it capital, and not long after it was raiſed to twelve-pence; and the ſame monarch raiſed the age at which a perſon might be condemned,

* "For though we talk (ſays Sir Henry Spelman) of the Weſt Saxon law, the Mercian law, and the Dane law, whereby the Weſt parts of England and the middle parts, and thoſe of Suffolk, Norfolk and the North were ſeverally governed, yet held they all an uniformity in ſubſtance, differing rather in their mulcts than in their canon, that is, in the quantity of fines and amercements, than in the courſe and frame of juſtice. Spelm. Remains, p. 49.

† Leges Ethelberti, Cap. 1.

‡ Ibid. cap. 9.

§ Wilkins Leges Saxon, p. 12.

‖ Ibid. p. 17.

¶ Equal in efficacy to 50 ſhillings of our preſent money.

from

from twelve to fifteen years *. Every perſon who had been convicted of theft, and was delivered from the rigour of the law by the payment of the price of his life, was obliged either to procure ſureties for his future good behaviour, or elſe to take oath that he would no more be guilty of the ſame offence; but if after being ſet at liberty, ſuch perſon was again convicted of theft, he was to be hanged without any further redemption ‡: The accomplices alſo, as well as thoſe who harboured robbers, or received ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch, were obnoxious to the ſame puniſhments, as the thief himſelf.

Laws againſt highway robbers and banditti.

Robbers upon the high-way, and bands of robbers, provided they exerciſed their violence out of the territories or ſtate to which they belonged, were not liable to any fine; for all the laws eſtabliſhed by the Anglo-Saxon kings during the continuation of the Heptarchy againſt robberies, have this clauſe annexed to them, "Provided it was committed within the bounds of our dominion ‡." By the laws of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, a robber within the kingdom, was obliged to return all he had taken, and pay a fine of ſixty-ſhillings; but if he was a leader of a banditti conſiſting of more than thirty-five perſons, the full price of his life was exacted for the fine: a robber alſo, who broke into the king's palace, or a biſhop's houſe, was fined 120 ſhillings; if he broke into the dwelling-houſe of an alderman, his fine was 80 ſhillings; 60 ſhillings if it was a thane's houſe; and 35 ſhillings if it belonged to an inferior landholder §: and thus moderate the compoſitions remained, until the eleventh century, when, by the laws of king Cnut, theſe mulcts were raiſed ſomething higher ‖.

Laws for the preſervation of the public peace.

Amongſt a people of ſuch a warlike diſpoſition as our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors are repreſented, it muſt have been neceſſary to have many laws, and thoſe pretty ſevere, for the preſervation of the public peace, and the prevention of private quarrels, in which men might be wounded or ſlain. By the laws of Ina, A. D. 693, it was ordained, that any one who broke the peace within the limits of the king's court, or in the houſe of a biſhop, ſhould be fined 120 ſhillings; in an alderman's houſe 80 ſhillings; in a thane's houſe 60 ſhillings; and in the houſe of an inferior landholder, 30 ſhillings ¶; and theſe mulcts were conſiderably raiſed by a law of Ælfred the Great, which extends ſo far as to declare, that if a man fought, or even drew his ſword in anger within the verge of the king's court **, his life ſhould lie at the king's mercy, but if his life was ſpared, it was to be redeemed by the payment of his full were-gyld or the price his life was rated at according to his rank ††; ſuch alſo as broke the peace in cathedral churches were liable to the

* Wilkins, Leg. Sax. 56.—65.
† Ibid. p. 70.
‡ Ibid. p. 16.
§ Ibid. p. 16.—23.
‖ Ibid. p. 143.
¶ Ibid. p. 22.

** The verge of the court extended 3 miles and a half every way from the houſe in which the king lodged, Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 63.
†† Ibid. p. 36.

ſame

ſame penalties as in the king's court, but, in middling churches, a fine of 120 ſhillings was exacted for the ſame crime; in leſſer churches, which had a burying place belonging to them, 60 ſhillings was thought a ſufficient recompence; and in the ſmaller churches, that had no burying place, the penalty was only 30 ſhillings *. Laws were alſo eſtabliſhed, with ſevere fines, againſt quarrelling and fighting in inns and public houſes †.

The laws for puniſhing perſonal injuries, were very numerous, ſo that the narrow limits of this work permit us only to make ſome general obſervations on a few of the moſt intereſting: and firſt,

Only a general account of the laws to be given.

By the Anglo-Saxon laws, a certain value was ſet upon every man's head, from the king to the ſlave, according to his rank; and when any man killed another, he was obliged to pay the price that was fixed by the laws, according to the rank of the perſon ſlain, and this mulct was called a man's were, or were-gyld ‡, and made a chief article in the doom book, as may appear from the laws of king Æthelſtan. By theſe laws the extent of each man's were is fixed, and the perſons declared who were to receive it. The were-gyld for the king was 14400 Saxon ſhillings, equal in quantity of ſilver to about 240 pounds, and to 775 pounds ſterling; this mulct was to be divided into two equal parts, one half of which was paid to the relations of the murdered prince, as a compenſation for their loſs, and the other to the public, for the death of their king. The were-gyld of every other perſon, of what rank ſoever, above the ſlaves, was alſo divided, and one half of it paid to the family of the deceaſed, to compenſate for the loſs of their relation, and to appeaſe their reſentment againſt the murderer, and the other half was due to the king, to make amends to him for the loſs of a ſubject §. If a freeman killed his own ſlave, he had nothing to pay but a ſmall fine for breach of the peace, which was received by the king; but if he killed a ſlave belonging to another man, beſides the mulct above-mentioned to the king, he was obliged to pay the value of the ſlave ‖ to his maſter. If a ſlave murdered a freeman, his owner was obliged to pay the were-gyld of the freeman to the king, and to the deceaſed's relations, or put the murderer into their hands; and if a ſlave killed his own maſter, he was always put to death, becauſe having no property, it was impoſſible for him to make compenſation; and if a ſlave killed another ſlave, it lay in the breaſt

Laws againſt murder.

* Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 126.

† Ibid. 9.

‡ From ꝑeꝑe, *a man*, and ȝyldan *to yield or pay*.

§ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 72. Here we may obſerve that the portion of the were-gyld that was payed to the king was called frithbote, from ꝑꝛıð, *peace*, and bote, *compenſation*, and that part paid to his family; mægbote from Mœȝ, *kindred*, and bote.—Somner Dictionar. Sax. in voce.

‖ The value of the ſlave was called Manbote, or *man-price*, Du Cange. Gloſſ. in voc.

of his maſter, to puniſh him as he pleaſed. As it was cuſtomary by law for all the near relations of a murdered man to receive a portion of the payment of his were-gyld, ſo alſo it was uſual with them to contribute their ſhare in the payment of theſe mulcts, for any of their relations that had committed any murder; by this means the puniſhment was conſiderably leſſened, and a great part of the burthen taken from the ſhoulders of the guilty perſons; to prevent this, in ſome meaſure, king Eadmund, who reigned from A. D. 941, to A. D. 946, procured the eſtabliſhment of a law, which declared the murderer to be the only object of the reſentment of the injured parties, and excuſed his relations from paying any ſhare of the mulct that was impoſed upon him; but this law not producing the deſired effect, in the reign of king Æthelred the Unready, A. D. 1008, a law was made, declaring, that a murder committed within the walls of a church was inexpiable without the ſpecial permiſſion of the king, which, however, being obtained, excuſed not the murderer from the payment of a mulct to the church for the violation of its protection, as alſo his frithbote to the king, and mægbote to the injured family *. But ſurely theſe laws againſt murder were much too lenitive, eſpecially when we conſider the Anglo-Saxons as a war-like people, impatient of affronts, and ſwift to revenge them; to which may be added, their having almoſt conſtantly their ſwords in their hands, ſo that quarrels muſt too often have proved fatal in this period.

Laws againſt wounding, and their extent

As there were certain prices ſet upon the life of a man, ſo alſo all his limbs were valued by the ſame laws; and maims, bruiſes, or wounds in any part of them, were to be compenſated according to their breadth, length, or depth; theſe prices were formed into a book of rates, which was ordered to be learnt by heart by every judge, before he was admitted into his office †; and when any perſon was convicted of having wounded or maimed another, he was ſentenced from the doom-book to pay to the injured perſon the price there ſettled, more or leſs, according to the dimenſions of the hurt, or the part of the body it was upon ‡; and theſe prices by the law of king Eadmund, were ordered to be paid without the leaſt abatement whatever.

The

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. ut ſup.

† Ibid. p. 5, 6, 7.

‡ For the further ſatisfaction of the reader, a tranſlation here follows of the laws of Ethelbert, firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the moſt ancient Anglo-Saxon laws. This prince reigned from A. D. 560, to A. D. 616.—The Saxon original, with a Latin tranſlation, may be found in Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 1.—7.

1. Let him that robbeth a church, make compenſation twelve-fold; he that ſtealeth the goods of a biſhop, eleven-fold; of a prieſt, nine-fold; of a deacon, ſix-fold; of a clerk, three-fold; he that violates the peace of a church, ſhall pay two-fold; of a monaſtery, two-fold.

2. When the king calls an aſſembly of his people, and any injury be done to them therein, it ſhall be compenſated two-fold, and 50 ſhillings be paid to the king.

3. If

Laws for the preſervation of the chaſtity of the fair-ſex.

The Anglo-Saxons, like their anceſtors the Germans, ſeem to have been very tenacious of the honour and chaſtity of the fair-ſex, for by the laws of this period, many ſevere pecuniary penalties were inflicted on thoſe who attempted the violation of their honour; and theſe penalties

3. If the king be at an entertainment in another's houſe, and any damage be done there, let it be compenſated nine-fold.

4. If a freeman ſteal the king's goods, let him repay nine-fold.

5. If any man kill another in the king's city, he ſhall pay fifty ſhillings.

6. If any man kill a freeman, he ſhall pay fifty ſhillings to the king for the loſs of his ſubject.

7. If any of the king's ſervants be killed, as his maſter ſmith, or butler, let the murderer pay the cuſtomary price.

8. If the king's patronage be violated, the compenſation ſhall be fifty ſhillings.

9. If one freeman ſteal from another freeman, he ſhall repay three-fold; a mulct ſhall be impoſed, and his goods confiſcated to the king.

10. If a man ſhall violate the chaſtity of the king's maid ſervant, being a virgin, her virginity ſhall be compenſated by fifty ſhillings.

11. If ſhe be the grinding maid, the mulct ſhall be twenty-five ſhillings, and if of the third rank, twelve ſhillings.

12. If ſhe be the king's victualling maid, let the compenſation be twenty ſhillings.

13. Let him that murders a man in the city of an earl, pay twelve ſhillings.

14. If a man debauch a maid, that is cup-bearer to an earl, let her virginity be compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

15. Let the violation of a yeoman's patronage be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

16. If the chaſtity of a maid that is cup-bearer to a yeoman be violated, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings; that of a yeoman's other maid ſervant, fifty ſcætas; and of thoſe of the third rank, thirty ſcætas.

17. He that firſt breaketh into another man's houſe, ſhall be amerced ſix ſhillings; the ſecond, three ſhillings; and each of the reſt, one ſhilling.

18. Let him be amerced ſix ſhillings, that ſhall lend a man his arms, where there is a quarrel, though no damage be done.

19 Let a robbery be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

20. But if a man be killed, the murderer ſhall compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings.

21. If one man murders another, he ſhall make compenſation for his death with the ordinary mulct of one hundred ſhillings.

22. If a man be killed at an open grave, the murderer ſhall be amerced twenty ſhillings, beſides the ordinary mulct which he muſt pay within forty days.

23. If a murderer eſcape from juſtice, his relations ſhall pay half the ordinary mulct.

24. He that bindeth a freeman, ſhall make compenſation with twenty ſhillings.

25. Let him that killeth the gueſt of a yeoman, compenſate his death with ſix ſhillings.

26. If a landlord murder his chief gueſt, he ſhall compenſate his death with eighty third, ſhillings.

27. If he kills his ſecond gueſt, the compenſation ſhall be ſixty ſhillings, if the forty.

28. If a freeman cut down a hedge, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings.

29. If a man take any thing kept within a houſe, let him reſtore it three-fold.

30. If a freeman break down a hedge, the compenſation ſhall be four ſhillings.

31. He that hath committed a murder, ſhall make compenſation according to the true valuation in current money.

32. If a freeman commit adultery with a freeman's wife, let him compenſate by buying another wife for the injured freeman.

33. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him make amends for the ſame.

34. If he pulls him by the hair, let him pay fifty ſcætas.

35. If the bone appear, let a compenſation be made with three ſhillings.

36. If the bone be hurt, let the payment be four ſhillings.

37. If the bone be broke, let the compenſation be ten ſhillings.

38. If both be done, let it be twenty ſhillings.

ties were ſtated from the ſlighteſt indecency, to the rudeſt violence, greater or ſmaller, according to the rank and quality of the abuſed female; the forcible violation of the chaſtity of a nun, was eſteemed a crime as high as murder, and the ſame fine was accordingly inflicted upon

39. If the ſhoulder be lamed, let it be compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

40. If a man be made deaf of an ear, let the compenſation be twenty-five ſhillings.

41. If the ear be cut off, let it be compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

42. If the ear be bored through, the compenſation ſhall be three ſhillings.

43. If the ear be clipped off, let it be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

44. If an eye be ſtruck out, let fifty ſhillings be the compenſation.

45. If the mouth or eye be injured, let the payment of twelve ſhillings make amends.

46. If the noſe be bored through, let the payment be nine ſhillings.

47. If only one membrane be bored through, three ſhillings ſhall be the compenſation.

48. If both, ſix ſhillings.

49. If both noſtrils are ſlit, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings each.

50. If they be bored, the compenſation ſhall be ſix ſhillings.

51. If any one cut off the chin bone of another, compenſation ſhall be made with twenty ſhillings.

52. For each of the four fore teeth, the compenſation ſhall be ſix ſhillings; for that which ſtands next, four ſhillings; for the next, three ſhillings; for all the reſt, three ſhillings each; if it be an impediment to the ſpeech of the injured party, twelve ſhillings ſhall be the compenſation; and if the jaw be broken, ſix ſhillings.

53. If a man's arm be bruiſed, it ſhall be compenſated with ſix ſhillings; and if it is broke, with ſix ſhillings.

54. Amends for the cutting off a man's thumb, ſhall be twenty ſhillings; for the nail of the thumb, three ſhillings; for the forefinger eight ſhillings; for the midfinger, four ſhillings; for the ring finger, ſix ſhillings; and for the little finger, eleven ſhillings.

55. For each finger nail, one ſhilling.

56. For the leaſt blemiſh, three ſhillings, for greater ones ſix ſhillings.

57. If one ſtrike another a blow on the noſe with his fiſt, he ſhall pay three ſhillings.

58. If the noſe of an injured party be wounded, it ſhall be compenſated with one ſhilling.

59. If a ſtroke given without the cloths be black, the compenſation ſhall be thirty ſcætas; if the ſame be within the cloths, twenty ſcætas.

60. If the diaphragm be wounded, the compenſation ſhall be twelve ſhillings; if it be bored, twenty.

61. If one be made to halt, let the compenſation be thirty ſhillings.

62. If one wound the callous, let thirty ſhillings be the recompence.

63. If a man's privities be cut off, the compenſation ſhall be thrice the ordinary mulct; if it is bored, ſix ſhillings, if cut, ſix ſhillings.

64. If a man's thigh be broke, the recompence ſhall be twelve ſhillings; if it be lamed, the friends ſhall judge the fine.

65. For a broken rib, be the compenſation three ſhillings.

66. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick let ſix ſhillings be paid; if one inch deep, one ſhilling; two inches, two ſhillings; if above two inches, three ſhillings.

67. If a vertebra be wounded, the payment ſhall be three ſhillings.

68. Fifty ſhillings ſhall be paid if the foot be cut off.

69. For a great toe cut off, ten ſhillings.

70. For each of the reſt of the toes, ſhall be paid half price, as is enacted of the fingers.

71. For the nail of the great toe, ſhall be paid thirty ſcætas, and ten for any one of the reſt.

72. If a free woman wearing her hair, do any thing unworthy, let her make amendment by payment of thirty ſhillings.

73. Let the compenſation of a virgin be the ſame as that of a free man.

74. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family, be compenſated with fifty ſhillings; of the next, with

upon the raviſher, beſides which he was looked upon as unworthy of Chriſtian burial. A rape committed on a perſon under age was puniſhed by mutilating of the criminal, the moſt effectual method of preventing a repetition of the crime*; the laws alſo againſt adultreſſes were very ſevere, eſpecially that made by ordinance of king Cnut, whereby an adultreſs was not only branded with infamy, and forfeited all her goods, but was condemned to have her noſe and lips cut off, that her beauty might no longer be an object of luſtful enticement †.

Offenders ſecured from ſudden violence.

Nor was the Anglo-Saxon legiſlature defective in endeavouring to ſecure offenders from the ſudden paſſion of the injured parties; for as the Saxons were in general people of a fierce and violent diſpoſition, they would be often apt to revenge their own cauſe, as ſeverely as their unruly paſſion dictated; for this reaſon, certain places were appointed as ſanctuaries, whither the offenders flying, were ſure to find protection from the ſudden violence of thoſe they had offended; of this ſort was the king's court, and all churches, where criminals were ſcreened for a time, that they might have an opportunity of making amends for the injuries they had committed ‡; the king and all biſhops had authority by law, to defend all criminals that ſought protection of them during nine days, and abbots and aldermen had the power of ſcreening them three days, at the end of which ſpace, if proper ſatisfaction was not made, the offending party was delivered up to juſtice, and puniſhed according to the nature of the crime §.

Laws againſt Calumny.

A good name was abſolutely neceſſary among the Anglo-Saxons, for without it no man could be admitted into the tythings or dece-

with twenty; of the third, by twelve; and of the fourth, with ſix.

75. If a widow be married; who is not at her own diſpoſal, the huſband ſhall make double compenſation for the violated patronage.

76. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her ſtand for bought, if there be no fraud in the bargain, if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaſe money reſtored to him again.

77. If ſhe bear any live iſſue, let her have half her huſband's goods, if ſhe outlive him.

78. If ſhe be deſirous to depart with her children, let half his eſtate be hers.

79. If the huſband will not part with his goods, he muſt keep his children.

80. If they have no iſſue, her relations ſhall have her goods and dowry.

81. If a man raviſh a maid, fifty ſhillings ſhall be paid to her firſt maſter, and after he may redeem her at his pleaſure.

82. If ſhe was before betrothed to another, a recompence muſt be made of twenty ſhillings.

83. If ſhe be with child, the offender ſhall pay thirty-five ſhillings, and fifteen to the King.

84. If a man commit adultery with the wife of a ſervant, the huſband yet living, let him make double recompence.

85. If a ſlave kill another ſlave, being innocent, let him recompence his death with all his ſubſtance.

86. If a ſervant's eye and foot be ſtruck off, it muſt be compenſated.

87. If one man bind another man's ſervant, he ſhall pay ſix ſhillings.

88. If a man rob a ſervant, he ſhall pay three ſhillings.

89. If a ſervant ſteal any thing, he ſhall make double reſtoration.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. 40. 72.

† Ibid. 142.

‡ Ibid. p. 15. 37, &c.

§ Ibid. p. 63.

naries,

naries, but was eſteemed a vagabond, and unworthy of the protection of the laws. It was therefore, that in the Anglo-Saxon laws, detraction, and calumny, was thought a crime more atrocious than robbery. By one of the laws of Lothair, king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 673, to A. D. 685, a calumniator was ſentenced to pay one ſhilling to the maſter of the houſe where he uttered his defamations, ſix ſhillings to the perſon whoſe character he injured, and twelve ſhillings to the king *. But Eadger the Peaceable, who reigned upwards of two centuries and a half after, made a law much ſeverer againſt detractors, by which they were ſentenced to have their tongue cut out, or elſe to redeem it by the payment of their full weregyld, or the price of their life, and this law was afterwards confirmed by Cnut the Dane †.

Other laws. Beſides what has already been mentioned, idolatry, ſorcery, witchcraft, perjury, forgery, coining, and high treaſon, with various other crimes, were obnoxious to ſevere penalties, but of theſe alſo the greater part were pecuniary ‡.

Proceedings in courts of juſtiee. In matters where the truth could not eaſily be diſcovered, oaths and ſolemn appeals to heaven became frequent, and in all cauſes both civil and criminal, each party appeared in the court of juſtice, attended by a great number of witneſſes, ready to ſwear in favour of the party they came to ſupport. The accuſed was himſelf firſt obliged to take oath that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and then produce a certain number of perſons called compurgators, who were to declare upon oath that they believed him to be innocent. Theſe compurgators were ordered by law to be perſons of unblemiſhed character and credit, and near neighbours, or the relations of the perſons accuſed; their number was not always the ſame, for in ſome caſes two or three were thought ſufficient, but in others a greater number, even forty or fifty, or ſometimes a hundred, though twelve or twenty-four were the moſt common numbers. If the accuſed was a female, the compurgators were alſo of the ſame ſex, but in no other caſe. If the criminal produced the number of compurgators required by law, and they all took oath that they believed him innocent, he was acquitted; but if he could not bring before the court a ſufficient number, or in caſe any one of them refuſed to ſwear, he was ſentenced as guilty §.

Beſides

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 9.

† Ibid. p. 78. 136.

‡ Coiners of baſe money, indeed, were ſentenced to loſe their right hand, and traytors againſt the nation were put to death, becauſe no amends could be made to a whole people for ſo dangerous and capital offence. Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 59. 103.

§ Theſe compurgators are thought by many learned men to have been (ſays a modern author) "the genuine predeceſſors of the jurors, or jurymen of later times; but (adds he) this opinion is liable to many objections: and any reader who attentively conſiders the deſcription of the compurgators, as given above, will perceive

Beſides the compurgators, a vaſt number of witneſſes were uſually examined upon oath, and the oath they took differed greatly from that adminiſtered to the compurgators; for the latter only ſwore that they believed the perſon to be innocent, whilſt the former ſwore they were certain of the truth of the matters which they related. Witneſſes.

Oaths were moſt commonly taken in a church; for which reaſon it was uſual to hold a court of juſtice as near to ſome place of worſhip as was convenient. The perſon to whom the oath was adminiſtered laid his right hand upon the altar, or on the holy goſpels, or upon the relics of the ſaints *. Warriors, and military men, would often ſwear upon their ſwords, and other arms, when an oath was required from them upon any emergency. Nor was the oath of every perſon eſteemed equal by our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors; on the contrary, every man's oath obtained ſo much weight and influence in a court of juſtice according to his rank. As for example, the oath of a Thane was of equal weight with the oaths of ſix Ceorls †. Beſides oaths, other ſolemn appeals to heaven were practiſed amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, which were ordeals, or trials, in which it was imagined that the hand of God would be directly interpoſed to clear the innocent from falſe accuſation, or condemn the guilty. Oaths how taken, and their weight.

There were many different ſorts of Ordeals uſed in England by the Saxons at this period, of which the chief ſeemed to have been the ſix following: Judicial combat; the Ordeal of the Croſs; the Ordeal of the Corſned; the Ordeal of Cold Water; the Ordeal of Hot Water; the Ordeal of Hot Iron. Ordeals.

Judicial combat was, when the accuſed and the defendant were brought into the field, and fought with each other; the conqueror gained the cauſe, and the vanquiſhed party was condemned. This method of trial was very common with the ancient Germans, as being well adapted to the genius and ſpirit of thoſe warlike people; and it is very certain that it was retained by the Anglo-Saxons, but ſeems not to have been ſo often practiſed as thoſe which follow. Judicial combat.

When a criminal appealed to the Ordeal of the Croſs, two ſticks were prepared of an exact ſize and form; on one of them was made the figure of a croſs, and the other was left quite plain: each of them was wrapped up in a quantity of fine wool, and laid upon the altar, or elſe upon the relics of ſome famous ſaint; and after prayers, compoſed for that purpoſe, being ſaid, the prieſt approached the altar, and made choice of one of the ſticks, which, if it proved to be that mark- Ordeal of the Croſs.

ceive they were different, in many reſpects, from our modern juries. They ſeem to bear a greater reſemblance to thoſe witneſſes who do not pretend to know any thing of the fact in queſtion, but are brought to ſpeak to the character of the perſon upon trial." Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 301.--- & vide Spelman Gloſſ. in voc. *Jurata*, et Selden. Janus Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 4. &c.

* Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 12. No man might take an oath, but who was perfectly ſober, and even faſting, Du Cange, p. 1607.

† Wilkins, p. 64.

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ed with the croſs, the priſoner was acquitted; but, on the contrary, if it was the plain ſtick, he was inſtantly condemned *. In civil cauſes, the Ordeal of the Croſs was otherwiſe conducted; for then two repreſentatives were found, one for the plaintive, the other for the defendant, who were both obliged to ſtand, during the celebration of divine ſervice, with their arms extended at full length ſo as to form a croſs with their bodies, and he, whoſe repreſentative firſt dropped his arms, loſt his cauſe †.

Ordeal of the Corſned.

The Ordeal of the corſned, or conſecrated bread, was commonly that to which the clergy themſelves appealed when they lay under any accuſation ‡; and it was thus performed: A piece of barley bread, and a piece of cheeſe were laid upon the altar, which were bleſſed by the prieſt, who pronounced a certain prayer and adjuration upon them, begging that the angel Gabriel might be ſent from heaven to prevent the accuſed from ſwallowing the bread and cheeſe, if he was guilty. Prayers being ended, the criminal going to the altar, took the bread and cheeſe, and began to eat, which if he did, without any impediment, he was pronounced not guilty; but, if he could not eaſily ſwallow it, he was condemned as guilty §.

Ordeal of the Cold Water.

When any perſon appealed to the Ordeal of Cold Water, they were put under the direction of a prieſt, who enjoined them three days faſting, which being ended, and the day being come for trial, the culprit was led into the church, where maſs was performed; but before the criminal was permitted to communicate, the prieſt ſaid to him, as follows: "I conjure you, O man! in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; by the Chriſtian religion which you profeſs; by Jeſus, the only begotten Son of God; by the Holy Trinity; by the holy goſpels, and by all the holy relics of the church, that you preſume not to draw near to the altar, or to receive the communion, if you are guilty of this crime whereof you are accuſed; or, if you have conſented to it; or, know by whom it was committed." If he ſtill declared his innocence, he then had the ſacrament given to him, with theſe words: "Let the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be received by you as a probation this day." This being performed, the priſoner was led to the pool where the trial was to be made in proceſſion, and when he was come thither, a cup of holy water was given him; the prieſt, at the ſame time, praying that "it might alſo be a probation to him that day." Prayers then were made over the pool, and the priſoner ſtripped naked, and bound hand and foot; a rope was next bound round his middle, with a knot upon it at half a yard diſtance, and he was then thruſt into the pool: if he ſunk ſo deep as to pull the knot under water, he was inſtantly drawn out, and declared innocent; but if he ſwam at top, (which caſe we may well conclude rarely happened) he was pronounced guilty ‖.

* Spelman Gloſſ. voc. Crucis judicium.
† Murator Antiq. vol. 3.
‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 128.
§ Murator, ut ſup.
‖ Ibid.

If a criminal appealed to the Ordeal of Hot Water, much the ſame ceremonies were uſed as thoſe above deſcribed. When he had communicated, and ſtill declared his innocence, a fire was kindled under the pot in which the water was contained for the trial, and, whilſt it was heating, the prieſt uttered many prayers; and, as ſoon as it began to boil, a ſtone was ſuſpended in the middle of it by a ſtring, and was let down into the water the depth of one or two palms or more, according to the nature of the accuſation. The pot was then taken off the fire, and ſet before it. The priſoner was afterwards to ſay the Lord's Prayer, which being done, and having ſigned himſelf with the figure of the croſs, he thruſt his naked hand and arm into the water, and took forth the ſtone. His arm was then inſtantly wrapped up in linen cloths, and put into a bag, ſealed before the ſpectators, and the priſoner was then committed to the care of the prieſt. Three days after the trial, the priſoner was again produced, when the bag, being unſealed, and the cloths taken off, the arm was examined by four and twenty perſons, twelve of them the friends of the accuſed, and the other twelve, the friends of the proſecutor; then, if the leaſt mark or appearance of ſcalding was viſible, the culprit was condemned; if not, he was honourably acquitted *. Ordeal of Hot Water.

The other Ordeal of Hot Iron was of two kinds, performed either with a ball of iron, or plough-ſhares. The firſt was as follows: a ball of iron was prepared, lighter or heavier, according to the nature of the crime of which the criminal was accuſed †; and, on the appointed day, when all the previous prayers and ceremonies were concluded, the ball, being made red hot, was taken out of the fire. The priſoner having meaſured the diſtance of nine of his own feet, was allowed to ſtand with the toe of one of his feet touching one of the marks; the other ſtretched out as far as poſſible towards the other mark. Then ſeveral prayers were made, and a cup of holy water was given to the culprit, who drank it, and had his hand alſo ſprinkled over with the ſame; then ſigning himſelf with the ſign of the croſs, he took the ball of iron into his hand, and carried it to the end of the further mark. His hand was then inſtantly wrapped up, and three days after examined in the ſame manner, as above-mentioned, before 24 witneſſes: if any marks of burning appeared, he was condemned; if not acquitted ‡. The other method was to blind the criminal, and make him paſs over nine plough-ſhares heated red hot, and placed at unequal diſtances: if he performed this, without touching any one of the plough-ſhares, he was pronounced innocent; and, if not, adjudged guilty. The Ordeal of Iron.

* Du Cange Gloſſ.

† Ibid. tom. 3. p. 399---400.

‡ Of one, two, or three pounds, according to the numbers of articles exhibited againſt him.---Carte's General Hiſt. of England, p. 368.

deal of Hot Iron is thought to have been uſually put in practice on perſons only of high rank and quality *.

Laws relative to marriage.

Before we conclude this ſubject, we will briefly examine a few other laws. And, firſt, thoſe relative to marriage. A woman, from the hour of her birth to the day of her death, was under the protection or guardianſhip of ſome one man or other, without whoſe conſent ſhe could not legally execute any deed. The guardianſhip was called Mund, and the guardian himſelf Mundbora, and whoſe right could not be forfeited unleſs by his own conſent. Fathers were the guardians of their unmarried female children. After the death of the father, the brother ſupplied his place; and, on his deceaſe, the neareſt male relation. In caſe no male relation was left, all unmarried women were conſidered as under the immediate guardianſhip of the king himſelf. Before a man could marry a young lady, it was neceſſary for him to obtain the conſent of the Mundbora, which was uſually done by paying him a certain ſum of money, more or leſs, according to the rank of the lady †; and if any man married a woman, without having firſt obtained the conſent of the Mundbora, he was not only liable to a ſevere penalty for being guilty of the crime of Mundbreach, as it was termed, but he obtained no legal authority over his wife, or her goods, that authority ſtill remaining with the guardian, who could not be deprived of it without his own conſent; but, at the ſame time, the demand of the guardians were limitted by law, according to the rank and wealth of the lady. A widow was only eſtimated at half the price that was fixed upon a maiden lady of the ſame rank. The conſent of the guardian being obtained, the lovers were ſolemnly contracted, and a friend of the intended bridegroom became ſurety on his behalf that he ſhould treat the lady well, and maintain her agreeable to her rank ‡; and, on the making this contract, the dowry was ſettled by the huſband. All the friends of either party were uſually invited to the marriage, and made ſome preſent or other to the new married couple, particularly the father, brother, or guardian, whoſe preſents generally conſiſted of arms, or furniture, cattle, money, or the like, according to his abilities ‡, and this was all the fortune the huſband received with his wife. The preſence of the Mundbora alſo was neceſſary at the time of marriage, who delivered the bride to the bridegroom, declaring that he gave her to be his wife, to keep his keys, and to ſhare with him the honours of his bed and board, in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; and then the nuptial

* Du Cange Gloſſ.

† This preſent or payment, was called *Mede*, or *Price*; and, in the barbarous Latin of the middle ages, *Metha*, or *Methum*, which gave occaſion of its being ſaid that in thoſe days men bought their wives. Murator, vol. 2. p. 113, 114.

‡ Spelman Concil. p. 425.

§ This preſent was called patrocinium, or *Father's Gift*. Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

bleſſing

bleſſing was pronounced by the prieſt. Beſides the dowry, which the huſband had already made to his wife, the morning after the marriage it was uſual for him to make her ſome valuable preſent *, which was perfectly at her own diſpoſal. There ſeems anciently to have been no poſſibility of ſeparation between man and wife, but by death, or in caſe the wife was found guilty of adultery: but, towards the latter end of this period, voluntary ſeparations, and even divorces, by degrees, became frequent, eſpecially amongſt the nobility; and the great merit that the monks made concerning the vows of chaſtity contributed not a little to the encouragement of ſuch ſeparations. Indeed, by the common law, if either party made a vow of chaſtity, the other could not prevent a ſeparation, nor even marry another perſon. The huſband, after marriage, became the guardian, lord, and protector of the wife; he might diſpoſe of her goods, and was the governor of all the iſſue of the marriage, whoſe conduct he might regulate, and correct their faults. He alſo had the ſole power of diſpoſing of his daughters in marriage, and might even ſell, either his ſons or daughters, into ſlavery, provided it was done to relieve his immediate neceſſities.

Rules of ſucceſſion.

When a father died, and left children behind him, they became his heirs. If they were all ſons, it has been thought, that the poſſeſſions of the parent were equally divided amongſt them, and that the ſame method was purſued, if, on the contrary, they were all of them females; but whether, when they conſiſted of boys and girls, any diſtinction was made, or what was the extent of ſuch diſtinctions, cannot be known. When a man died without any children, the eſtate deſcended to the next neareſt relations; and, if no relations laid claim to it, it became the property of the king †.

Succeſſion of the crown.

Concerning the crown itſelf, in the beginning of the Heptarchy, it deſcended regularly from the father to the eldeſt ſon, as may be eaſily perceived by examining the records of that period; but, by degrees, the regularity of the ſucceſſion was violated, and brothers, of a warlike diſpoſition, ſupplanted their infant nephews. After the order was once broken through, the breach, by degrees, was made ſtill wider, and princes of the royal blood, at a diſtance from the throne, were frequently preferred to thoſe that were nearer, and had a better title, if they appeared more capable of ſupporting the royal dignity, or, indeed, if they were more powerful: and, in ſome caſes, the matter was carried to ſuch a length, that the crown fell a prey to tyrants and uſurpers, who were not of the blood royal. After the union of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the regular ſucceſſion continued to be broken; and even Ælfred, the greateſt of our Anglo-Saxon monarchs,

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 144. This preſent was called, Morgengife, or *Morning Gift*.

† Legis Saxonicæ.

mounted the throne which belonged to his young nephews; but the troubles and immediate danger of the nation, at that time, may ſufficiently juſtify the proceeding. The like happened afterwards; but the daring uſurpation of Harold, earl of Kent, is the moſt extraordinary. The laſt wills of deceaſed monarchs had frequently great weight in the appointment of the ſucceſſor; though ſuch wills were never regarded as valid, or of any binding authority to the kingdom, unleſs they were farther confirmed by the approbation of the Wittenagemot, or great aſſembly of the people *.

Conveyances of eſtates.

The conveyance of eſtates by will was firſt practiſed by the Anglo-Saxon kings, and other great men, in order to provide for their youngeſt children or relations, or to enrich the church for the good of their ſouls. But this cuſtom ſoon gained ſuch ground among the commoner ſort of people, that Ælfred found it neceſſary to make a law forbidding any perſon to alienate an eſtate which had deſcended to him from his natural heirs, if the firſt proprietor or purchaſer had directed, by writing, or before creditable witneſſes, that ſuch eſtates ſhould remain in the family †. But, ſoon after, ignorance and ſuperſtition among the people, and avarice among the clergy, prevailed ſo much, that entails, and all legal reſtraints, were removed; and a man was permitted to leave as much as he pleaſed to the church, though his family was thereby brought to beggary and diſtreſs.

Laws relative to compacts, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons had a variety of laws relative to the making of contracts; the ſecurity of real and perſonal eſtates; for recovering juſt debts, and eſtabliſhing a mutual confidence in each other, and for the preſervation of peace and good order. Before the introduction of writing, all compacts were made in the preſence of a magiſtrate, or in the Hundred Court, that in caſe any diſpute ſhould afterwards ariſe, unexceptionable witneſſes might be produced ‡; and, on the introduction of writing, in any conſiderable tranſactions, to prevent miſtakes in terms and conditions, they were ſometimes written upon the blank leaf of the church bible, which was always accounted a ſufficient and authentic record §. The laws againſt inſolvent debtors were very ſevere; for the creditors were empowered not only to ſtrip them of every thing that they had, but to impriſon their perſons, and even reduce them to ſlavery ‖.

* "Thus we are told," (ſays Squire) "by king Ælfred himſelf, that he, as well as his father before him, had read their laſt teſtament to a general aſſembly, knowing well enough, that however they might diſpoſe of the kingdom, their wills could not be duly executed without the general aſſent and conſent firſt obtained. Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 203.

† Leges Ælfredi, cap. 37. Wilkins & Lamborde.

‡ Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 3.

§ Ibid. p. 22, 23.

‖ Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. &c.

Such

Such is the general idea of the government and laws of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, which may juſtly be eſteemed as the great foundation of our preſent more perfect conſtitution—and that liberty we have ſo long happily enjoyed. Concluſion of the chapter.

CHAP. II.

State of architecture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, from the acceſſion of Egbert to the arrival of William the Conqueror, A. D. 1066.

IT evidently appears from our ancient hiſtorians that the Anglo-Saxons, particularly in the eighth and ninth centuries, did not attend to the building caſtles, or the fortifying their great towns, with ſo much aſſiduity, as was neceſſary for the public ſafety. And their neglect in theſe important particulars, are circumſtances that greatly facilitated the incurſions of the Danes. Indeed, Ælfred the Great ſeems to have been the firſt monarch who took the matter into ſerious conſideration; for after he had in a great meaſure ſubdued the Danes, in order to prevent if poſſible their future attacks, he ſpent great part of his time, and his meaſures, in repairing the ruined walls of the great towns, and building ſtrong caſtles and places of defence in the moſt advantageous ſituations *. After the death of Ælfred, his ſon Edward cloſely imitated his example, and repaired many places that had been ruined by the Danes, made new fortifications, and built ſeveral very ſtrong caſtles. Æthelfleda, governeſs of Mercia, Edward's martial ſiſter, not only led the people whom ſhe governed perſonally to the field of battle, but alſo erected many caſtles and places of defence for the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, by which means ſhe ſo much over-awed the neighbouring Danes, that they ſubmitted themſelves to her, and many of them voluntarily became her ſubjects. From this period the building and re- The Saxons neglected to build caſtles.

* The idleneſs and ignorance of the infatuated people, hindered not a little the progreſs of this material buſineſs, as we may learn from the mouth of Aſſerius, who after taking notice of the cities that Ælfred repaired, the royal forts and caſtles that he built with ſtone and wood, with admirable art, he proceeds to inform us, that notwithſtanding the example of this good prince, and all his perſuaſions, intreaties, and threatnings, the nobility and officers were remiſs in their duty, and backward in the building of forts, and repairing places of defence, (which were frequently quite neglected, or begun in ſuch unſeaſonable times, that they were deſtroyed by the enemy, before they were compleated) nor would they be perſuaded of the unreaſonableneſs of their indolence, till the loſs of their parents, their wives, families, friends and eſtates, all which were deſtroyed by the barbarous enemy, convinced them of their fault, and made them applaud the council of their prince. Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi.

pairing,

pairing of caſtles for the national defence, became an object of public attention, and one of the three ſervices to which all the landholders of the kingdom became ſubject *.

Earth-works of Saxon caſtles.

In the former volume is given a ſhort account of the remaining earth-works of Tong Caſtle in Kent, accompanied with two copper-plates, one of them containing the plan, and the other a perſpective view of that caſtle †. This venerable fortification was built either by Hengiſt himſelf, or his immediate deſcendants, and conſiſts, as we there ſee, of a large circular hill, flat at the top, (upon which the caſtle itſelf was erected) and ſurrounded with a broad deep ditch, which is again encircled with a ſtrong external bank or vallum; ſuch was the conſtant form of the ground-work of the Saxon caſtles, or at leaſt, if it was varied, the difference was not material or intended, but evidently occaſioned by the nature of the place, where the caſtle was conſtructed. At Witham and at Malden, two towns in Eſſex, are alſo to this day to be ſeen, the ground-works of two famous Saxon Caſtles, both thought to have been built by Edward the elder, but that the former was, we are poſitively aſſured by the Saxon Chronicle, which informs us that it was built A. D. 913, the king himſelf and his army mean-while lying at Malden, which is barely ſix miles off. Theſe two fortifications correſpond exactly with that of Tong, above deſcribed, conſiſting only of one large flat hill, ſurrounded by a broad deep ditch and an external vallum ‡. Thoſe authors appear to me to be very much miſtaken, who attribute the double fortification of a keep and baſe court § to the Saxons; ſuch fortifications are of Norman original, and one chief reaſon for this ſuppoſition is, that the keep is never to be found but in ſuch places as the Normans are expreſsly ſaid to have built. It may indeed be argued, that they frequently took poſſeſſion of the Saxon caſtles, and dwelt in them; and that they did, will not be doubted, but it is as certain that whenever they did ſo, they altered the mode of fortification, and added a keep to the Saxon baſe court, in order to make it compleat, which is conſtantly to be found in all the fortifications wherein the Normans reſided.

* In the life of Edward the elder, pag. 41. of this vol.

† Vol. I. of this Chron. plates XII and XIII, and pag. 317, 318, &c.

‡ Theſe two entrenchments are repreſented in a work called Þoþda Anzelcynnan, or a View of the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Engliſh, and a full deſcription of them, with their menſurations, vol. I. page 24, 25.

§ The keep, is a high hill, raiſed at one end of the fortification, higher than the area of the caſtle, which is thence called the baſe or lower court. This keep was firſt added by the Normans to the low flat hill or baſe court of the Saxons, This matter is fully diſcuſſed and explained in the work laſt quoted, vol. I. pag. 91, 92. with views of the different ſorts of fortification given on the plates.

Great

No great variations between the Saxon and Daniſh entrenchments.

Great pains have been taken, in order to trace out, if poſſible, ſome ſure criterion, by which the Saxon and Daniſh entrenchments might be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and on the examination of the two encampments given in the former volume, the one of king Ælfred, and the other of Haſting the Dane, it was hoped that it might eaſily have been done, becauſe the former was of a circular form, a little inclining to the oval, and the latter an oblong ſquare, with the corners gently rounded; this obſervation naturally led to further reſearches, and as Haſting, beſides the preſent temporary camp, is ſaid poſitively to have built a ſtrong caſtle at Bemflet, in Eſſex, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary to examine that, and ſee how far it correſponded with this camp. But the earth works of that fortification, which yet remain in a pretty perfect ſtate, were found to differ from the above-mentioned camp, and agree exactly with thoſe of the Saxons deſcribed before. This circumſtance will render it exceedingly difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to fix any certain rules for diſtinguiſhing the Saxon and Daniſh fortifications, where we cannot call in the aſſiſtance of hiſtory to our aid; perhaps all the entrenchments that are found, like that before deſcribed of Haſting, the Dane, either ſquare, or an oblong ſquare, may with great reaſon be called Daniſh, becauſe we find none abſolutely Saxon that are of thoſe forms; but then on the other hand it muſt be owned, it cannot poſitively be affirmed, that all thoſe that are circular or oval, like that of Ælfred, are always Saxon, and not of Daniſh conſtruction; for as theſe two people differed from each other ſo little in their original manners, it is not at all ſurprizing, that they ſhould both follow the ſame, or nearly the ſame modes of fortifications, and make war upon the ſame plan.

Superſtructure of the Saxon caſtles conſidered.

Having ſeen the earth-works of the caſtles of the Anglo-Saxons, we may next enquire concerning the nature and form of the ſuperſtructure, which conſiſted of high thick walls on the outſide, flanked with baſtions, and ſtrong towers at the corners; the external form of the caſtles was varied according to the nature of their ſituation, or the will of the builder. The caſtle was alſo ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, doubtleſs fortified with towers and baſtions, erected upon the external vallum, which encloſed the broad deep ditch, over which it was neceſſary for the enemy to paſs, before they could come to the caſtle itſelf, and the communication between the outer gate of the external wall, and the gate of the caſtle, was either by means of a draw-bridge, or elſe a ſtrong covered way, which conſiſted of a narrow paſſage, cloſely guarded; the caſtle had but few windows on the outſide, and thoſe very ſmall, through which they could diſcharge their darts and other offenſive weapons at the enemy *.

* See the account of Colcheſter caſtle in the work above quoted, vol. I. p. 26.

In

Towns how fortified.

In the days of the heptarchy, large towns were frequently void of any other fortification, than a large bank that ran round them, and planks of wood of great thickneſs erected thereon, in the manner of a paliſade. But principal cities were afterwards by degrees made more ſtrong, and encircled with walls of ſtone; this prudent regulation, as we have before obſerved, went but ſlowly on, until Ælfred the Great, and his ſon Edward the Elder, encouraged the purſuance of it by their advice and examples. Then the cities and large towns were encloſed within ſtrong walls of ſtone, having baſtions and towers at convenient diſtances from each other, the better to defend them *.

Manner of beſieging ſtrong places.

The general method of attacking fortified places amongſt either the Saxons, or the Danes, ſeems to have been by aſſault, and if they could not quickly prevail, it was common for them to raiſe the ſiege and depart, revenging themſelves upon the bordering countries. The idea of ſurrounding a garriſon, and cutting off all the communication between it and the country, in order to oblige the beſieged to ſurrender for want of food, ſeems firſt to have been practiſed by king Ælfred, and was afterwards followed, though not very often, by the Danes as well as the Saxons. However, if a garriſon was well victualled, and held out a conſiderable time, their impatience ſeldom permitted them to continue long enough to reduce it.

Decline of the art of architecture and its revival.

We meet with many accounts of grand and noble edifices being erected by the Anglo-Saxons, not only after the union of the heptarchy, but even long before, ſome account of which we have already ſeen; and architecture was without doubt riſing to a conſiderable heighth at the time of the commencement of the united monarchy, but from the dreadful devaſtations occaſioned by the Danes in the ſucceeding times, the moſt beautiful edifices were deſtroyed, and this art much neglected; ſo that in the days of Ælfred the Great, ſtone buildings were very rare, not only from the want of time to erect them, but alſo of artiſts ſkilful enough to undertake the performance: ſo that when that great prince formed the deſign of rebuilding the ruined cities, churches and monaſteries, he was obliged to ſend into foreign countries for artiſts, and numbers that excelled in the various branches of the mechanic arts from ſeveral different nations, came readily to his aſſiſtance; theſe were uſually all overlooked by the king himſelf, who was the beſt architect of his age †. Many of the buildings erected by him were ſuch as in thoſe times were called magnificent, and were viewed with the greateſt admiration. Some idea of the mode of building may be

* To expreſs this in the words of Malmſbury, who mentions Edward the Elder's repairing Exeter, ſays, "Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminata, gentis repurgis defæcaverat *turribus* munivit, muro ex *quadratis lapidibus* cinxit."—Malmſ. in vit. Edwardi.

† This building, together with a view of the church itſelf, is given by Hearne in his preface to Leland's Collect. vol. I. together with a plan and full deſcription of every part of it.

formed

formed from an examination of the ancient church of St. Peter, at Oxford, if we can ſuppoſe (as indeed there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt it) that the vault on which the preſent chancel ſtands is the original building that was compleated under the direction of Grimbald, a monk of Reims, who came to the court of king Ælfred to aſſiſt him in reviving the ſtudy of letters amongſt his ſubjects. This building is low, and arched over, the arches are ſupported by two rows of columns, ſhort, thick, and exceedingly heavy, and on four of the capitals of columns that front the weſt, are rude ſculptures of foliage, and ſome attempts to repreſent figures by way of ornament *; the windows are but few and very ſmall, ſo that, according to the preſent taſte of building, it wears but an unfavourable aſpect, and perhaps we may in general conclude, that the moſt eſteemed Saxon edifices were ſuch as would now be called low, gloomy, irregular and heavy.

The arches of the Anglo-Saxon buildings were always ſemi-circular, the architecture plain and ſimple, the ornaments few, and thoſe chiefly conſiſting of foliage and branches, interwoven with birds, or beaſts, or elſe rude ſculptures repreſenting ſome church hiſtory, or the actions of a particular ſaint. Such arches as compoſed the doors and windows of the Saxon edifices, ſeem to have had no other ornament whatever, than a variety of cornices, which were more or leſs numerous, as the architect thought neceſſary; and theſe are all the ornaments we find them charged with, in ſuch of the remaining ruins of that age, as ſtill bear the marks of their original purity; the ſame alſo are all thoſe that are found in the various Saxon manuſcript delineations †. The arches of the Saxon buildings, round.

The devaſtations occaſioned by the frequent incurſions of the Danes, put ſo great a ſtop to the progreſs of architecture, that though it was again revived by Ælfred, and purſued by his ſon and ſome of the immediate ſucceſſors, yet it does not ſeem to have been in ſo flouriſhing a condition as it might have been before the Daniſh invaſions; for even in the days of Eadgar the Peaceable, who reigned from A. D. 959, to A. D. 975, many of the monaſteries and large churches in England, were mean wooden ſtructures; and indeed ſome of them had no other covering than thatch ‡. Whilſt the magnificence and beauty of the more conſequential buildings were ſo much affected by the miſeries which the Danes occaſioned, we may depend upon it that the private houſes of the nobility, and thoſe of the common people, were alſo proportionably rude and inelegant; and of this our ancient hiſtorians ſeem to have agreed, declaring, that the Anglo-Saxon This art declines again.

* Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi.

† See vol. II. pag. 2. of the Þoþda Anzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

‡ This prince himſelf at his acceſſion to the throne, obſerved that all the monaſteries in England were in a ruinous condition, and conſiſted only of rotten boards. W. Malmſb. lib. 2.

nobility had no great taſte for magnificent buildings, but uſually dwelt in ſmall and inconvenient houſes *.

Domeſtic buildings of the Saxons.

Unhappily, few or no remains of Saxon architecture, eſpecially of the palaces and private houſes, are to be met with in the kingdom, ſo that very little can be ſaid reſpecting their form and extent. In order, if poſſible, to throw ſome light upon this matter, the buildings repreſented upon ſome of the plates of this volume, are ſuch as occur in Saxon manuſcripts, and might moſt likely bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe they inhabited †. If theſe can be depended upon (as there ſeems no reaſon to the contrary) we ſhall find them irregular, inelegant, and to all appearance inconvenient; the windows in general are ſmall and long, and very few in number, which was owing to the want of ſkill in manufacturing of glaſs, for though this art had been introduced into Britain as early as the ſeventh century, yet it was afterwards ſo neglected, that very few or no private houſes had glaſs windows till the end of this period ‡.

Materials uſed by the Saxons.

The materials which the Anglo-Saxons uſed in their buildings, during the time of the heptarchy, were briefly mentioned in the foregoing volume; and, during the preſent period, eſpecially in their fortifications, and moſt magnificent buildings, the ſame materials might continue in uſe: but that their domeſtic buildings were chiefly conſtructed with wood, we may be well aſſured, and without doubt thoſe of the more middling claſs of life were only framed with timber, and the ſides covered by weather boards, or elſe with walls made with lath and plaiſter, which they underſtood how to beautify before this time; for in the days of the heptarchy, when biſhop Wilfrid repaired the cathedral of York, he cauſed the walls to be white-waſhed with lime §.

Carpenters art better underſtood than maſonry.

Though, from the ſcarcity of ſtone buildings, it is likely at this period that maſonry was not arrived at full perfection, yet from the multiplicity of wooden ſtructures, it is certain that the carpenters and joiners art muſt have been well underſtood; and, it can be made appear, that there were many who excelled in theſe important branches of architecture. This indeed is poſitively affirmed by ſeveral authors, who were eye-witneſſes to their ſkill. Egelric, the ſucceſſor of Turketull, in the abbey of Croyland, made great additions to the building there, adding many beautiful edifices, as they were then called, which were conſtructed of beams of wood moſt exactly joined together, and highly poliſhed by the admirable art of the carpenter ‖.

* Malmſb. lib. 3. Roſſii.

† See plates III. V. XVIII. and XIX. All the buildings repreſented upon theſe plates are particularly deſcribed in the Appendix, where the account of the plates is given, and the MSS. mentioned from whence they are taken.

‡ Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. p. 395.

§ Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. lib. 2.

‖ Ingulf Hiſt. Croyland.

The

The roofs of palaces, cathedral churches, and large monaſteries, as well perhaps as thoſe belonging to the houſes of the greateſt nobility, were covered either with ſheets of lead, or ſhingles, or elſe ſlates, which latter appear to be moſt common in the ancient delineations; and, in general, the ſlates are cut rounding at the bottom, and laid one over the other, ſo that they ſomewhat reſemble the ſcales of a fiſh *. As the commoner ſort of people could not purchaſe ſuch expenſive coverings, they were obliged to be content with thatch.

Coverings of the Anglo-Saxon buildings.

CHAP. III.

Art of War and Military Diſcipline of the Anglo-Saxons.

WE have already ſeen, in the preceding volume, the ancient habits of the Anglo-Saxon ſoldiers: we ſhall now make ſome more particular enquiries into their methods of making war, and their military arrangement in battle. But it may not be impertinent, in the firſt place, to examine the manner in which they raiſed troops; who were qualified to bear arms; and who were the commanding officers according to the law.

Enquiry into the military diſcipline of the Anglo Saxons.

Every one of thoſe valiant followers of Hengiſt, and the other Saxon chiefs, who ſettled in Britain, upon their having ſubdued the natives, received each his ſhare of the conquered land, which became his own and ſole property, and ſubject to no kind of ſervices whatever, but what the public ſafety abſolutely required †. The firſt and chief thing required of him was, that he ſhould attend perſonally and aſſiſt in the wars for the public defence; but if he refuſed to obey this requiſite duty, he forfeited his eſtate, and became an object of contempt: ſo that in caſe of an invaſion from the foreign enemy, or when the great council propoſed any military expedition for the public emolument, every land-holder was obliged to obey the ſummons, and advance to ſave his country from the foe, or to promote its glory and wealth.

Who were ſoldiers at that period.

Every freeman who was of an age capable of bearing arms, and had not forfeited his privileges by any indiſcretions, had a right to attend upon the war, ſo alſo might the Ceorls if their inclination lead them to fol-

Clergy and ſlaves forbid to bear arms.

* See plate XVIII.

† Theſe ſervices were then called *Trinodis Neceſſitas*, and were attending perſonally in war for the public defence, and fortifying caſtles, and places of defence, and repairing bridges. Spel. Remains, p. 19. See alſo the firſt chapter of this part of the preſent volume of this Chronicle. Nor were the crown lands, or thoſe belonging to the church exempted; but the clergy uſually performed this duty by ſubſtitutes, which were deemed ſufficient, and theſe ſubſtitutes were generally the Ceorls that farmed their lands.

low a military employment; but they were not obliged by law to do ſo, unleſs upon ſome extraordinary danger or emergency. The military life was looked upon as honourable, therefore all ſlaves were prohibited bearing arms, unleſs ſome ſudden or preſſing occaſion obliged the maſter to arm them for the immediate defence of his own life or property*. In the days of paganiſm, theAnglo-Saxon prieſts were forbidden to ride on horſeback, or to bear arms †; and the Chriſtian clergy were alſo exempted from the performance of the duties of military buſineſs, that they might the better attend to their religious offices, and, indeed, in the latter times, they were forbidden to bear arms under ſevere penalties.

Officers of the Anglo-Saxons.

All ſuch as were qualified to bear arms in a family, were conſtantly led to the battle by the maſter, or head of that family, and every tything, (or ten families,) were conducted by the borſholder ‡, or chief of that tything: the ſoldiers of every ten tythings, which formed a hundred, were led by the hundredary, or chief magiſtrate of the hundred; and as ſeveral hundreds formed a trything, ſo the ſoldiers of every hundred that compoſed the trything were under the conduct of the trythingman, or head of the trything, and the members of as many trythings as formed a ſhire, or county, were conducted by the alderman § of that county; and the alderman, and his followers, were under the conduct of the king, or, in his abſence, of his lieutenant ‖.

Every landholder obliged to be provided with arms.

That every landholder, and ſuch of his family, as were able to bear arms, might, upon all occaſions, be ready to defend their country, laws were made obliging them to be in conſtant poſſeſſion of ſuch arms as were neceſſary for them, and ſuitable to their rank. They were, by the ſame laws, ſtrictly forbidden either to ſell, lend, or pledge thoſe arms, or even to alienate them from their heirs; alſo, that they might be expert in the management of them when they were called upon to ſerve their country, they had certain ſtated times for the military exerciſe, which was done under the direction of the ſuperior magiſtrates; and once a year, generally about the month of May, a general review was made throughout every province, when each man was obliged to appear with his own proper arms, in order to prevent the public being impoſed upon by ſome lending their arms to others, or the like impoſitions.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax.

† An inſtance of this is given by Bede, who tells us, that Coifi, the pagan high prieſt of Northumberland, was thought by the people to be mad when they ſaw him mounted on a horſe, with a ſpear in his hand, like a ſecular Thane; becauſe (adds he) they knew it was unlawful for a prieſt to bear arms, or ride on horſeback. Bede lib. i. c. 13.

‡ The Borſholder, in his military capacity, was called Sidcundman, or *conductor*.

§ This officer, in his military capacity, was called Heretoga, or *general*.

‖ In Saxon called Cyninger hold. Vide page 181 of this vol.

When-

Whenever the members of the Hundred Court aſſembled together, they met armed, and every one of them (as we before mentioned) touched the ſpear of the hundredary, or chief magiſtrate, declaring thereby their willingneſs to fight under his command*. Indeed, the lance, and other arms, were ſuch a neceſſary part of the dreſs of an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, that he was ſcarcely ever ſeen abroad without them, which well accounts for the various laws to prevent miſchief being done by carrying arms in a careleſs manner †. Wappentac, its ſignification.

The far greater part of the Anglo-Saxon forces were compoſed of their infantry, the cavalry being chiefly thanes, and ſuch great men as could afford to purchaſe horſes, and maintain them; although, on particular occaſions, the Saxons may reaſonably be thought to have varied the form of the arrangement of their armies; yet, in general, it is ſuppoſed that they drew up their infantry in the form of a wedge, whoſe point fronted the enemy; and that the cavalry, on either ſide, formed the wings, and aſſiſted the infantry in the onſet: nor was this a new method of arrangement, but the ſame as had been practiſed by their fore-fathers in Germany; and it was in this very form that Harold the ſecond drew up his army, when he fought that memorable battle againſt William duke of Normandy at Haſtings. At this period, the ſucceſs of the battle depended ſolely on the ſuperiority of the numbers, or the perſonal valour and diſcipline of the troops, and the good conduct of the leaders. We have, in a very ancient author, a ſhort, but curious deſcription of the famous battle of Brunanburh, where Æthelſtan overthrew the joint forces of Conſtantine king of Scotland, Anlaf, the ſon of Sithric, and the king of Cumberland. The confederate army came down before break of day, intending to attack the camp of Æthelſtan, and fell upon a party of ſoldiers belonging to the retinue of a biſhop, who had pitched his tent there the preceding night, about a mile diſtant from the king's army; the ſoldiers of the biſhop, not expecting any ſuch aſſault, made what reſiſtance they could, but in vain, for being oppreſſed by the number of their enemies, they were finally overthrown with great ſlaughter. The main army where Æthelſtan was preſent, being in the mean time alarmed by the noiſe which the ſkirmiſh with the biſhops troops had occaſioned, were inſtantly drawn up in order of battle, and by break of day came down upon Anlaf, whoſe army over-wearied with the ſlaughter they had already made, was thrown into ſome diſorder. Æthelſtan led one body of the army in perſon, which was compoſed chiefly of the Weſt Saxons, the other body he committed to the charge of his chancellor Turketull, which was made up of Mercians and Londoners. Againſt the king The Anglo-Saxon forces, and their arrangement.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. for this reaſon theſe meetings are ſometimes known by the name of peapun tace, or the *Touch of Weapons*.

† Ibid.

fought

fought Anlaf, with his aſſiſtants, and Turketull was oppoſed by Conſtantine, with the Scottiſh army. The battle began by ſhowers of miſſive weapons, as darts and javelins, but ſoon after both armies cloſed; the engagement was long and terrible, neither party giving way for a conſiderable time *, until the chancellor Turketull, with ſome few Londoners of great valour, being joined by a captain of undaunted courage named Singin, who led the Worceſterſhire men, broke into the main body of their enemies, making way firſt through the Picts and Orkeners †, and then thro' the Cambrians and the Scots, and at laſt reached the place where Conſtantine, the king of the Scots, was fighting. Turketull unhorſed him, and uſed all means to take him alive; but he being well defended by the Scotch, Turketull would have been overcome, had he not been immediately aſſiſted by Singin his faithful ſecond, who, at the ſame time, ſlew Conſtantine. The rumour of this diſaſter being carried to Anlaf, he, with the remainder of his army left the field, and fled away with the utmoſt precipitation, but not without great loſs.

The battle began with loud ſongs.

The Danes and other northern nations began the battle with loud ſongs, and continual ſhoutings, and this cuſtom without doubt prevailed amongſt our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors at the battle of Haſtings, in which William Duke of Normandy obtained the conqueſt over Harold. The Normans began the onſet with ſinging aloud the ſongs of Rowland ‡.

Many battles fought by the Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons were well verſed in the art of war, for the number of battles they fought from the time of their arrival, to the Norman conqueſt, is almoſt incredible. Ælfred himſelf, in the firſt year of his acceſſion to the throne, is ſaid to have fought no leſs than ſeven pitched battles, beſides many ſkirmiſhes againſt the Danes §. What increaſed the miſery of thoſe unhappy times was, the inſatiable cruelty of the conquering armies, who, not contented with the overthrow of ſuch as oppoſed them in battle, would frequently deſtroy the weak and defenceleſs women, children and ſlaves.

Armour of the Anglo-Saxons.

The ſimplicity of the habit of the Saxon ſoldiers, as already mentioned ‖, was towards the latter end of the monarchy in ſome meaſure broken through. In the more early delineations, we cannot find that they wore the leaſt kind of defenſive armour upon their bodies, their whole confidence being placed in the ſmall ſhield they bore upon their left arms; ſoon after, we find the ſhield gradually growing larger, and

* The words of Ingulfus are—ceſſantibus citò ferentariis armis, pede pes, & cuſpide cuſpis, umboque umbone pellebatur. Cæſi multi mortales, confuſaque cadavera regum & pauperum corruebant. Ingulf Hiſt. Croyland.

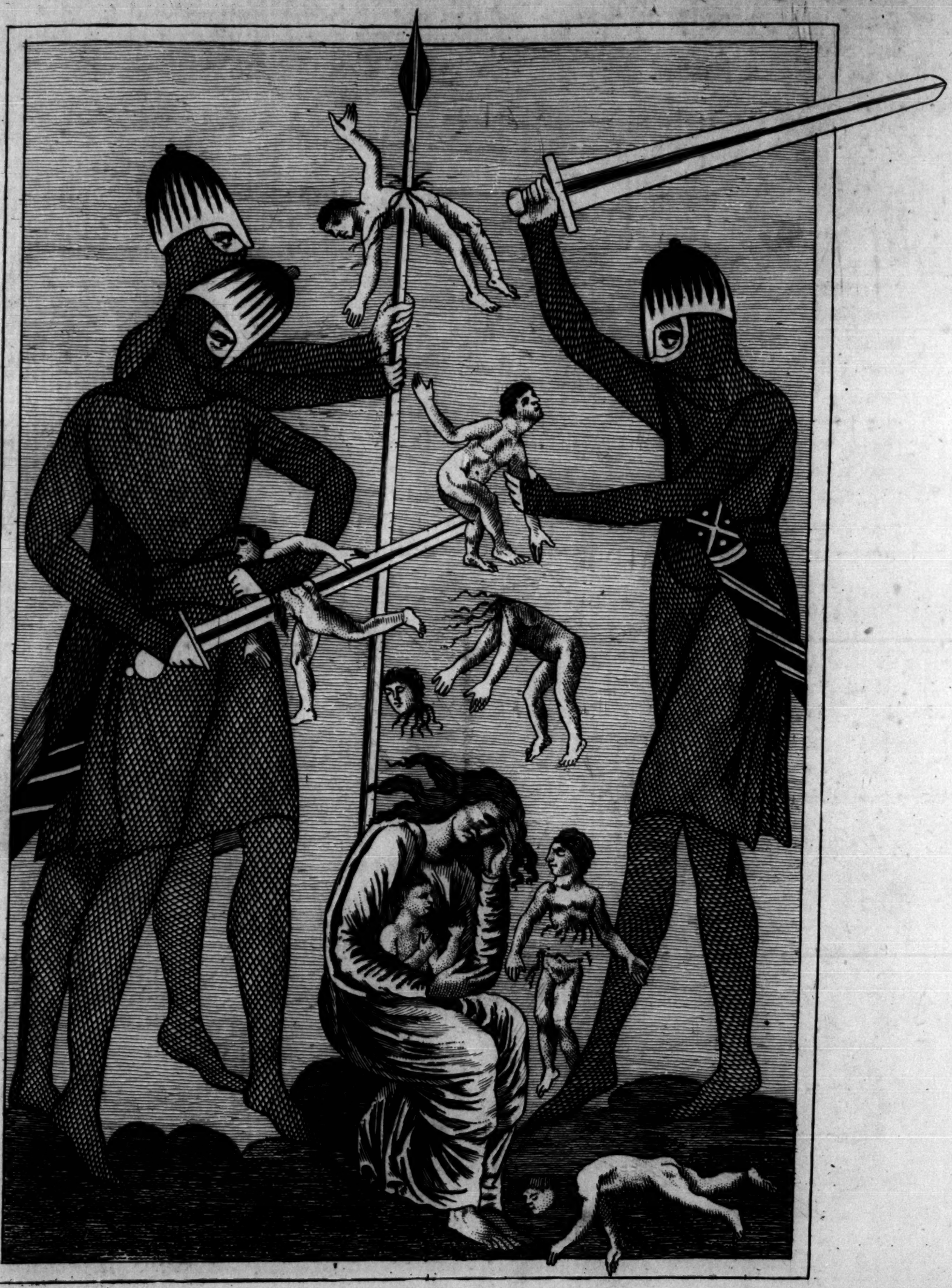
† Jam Orcadenſium ac Pictorum globos pertranſierat, ſilvamque jaculorum & telorum quæ thorace fideliſſima ſufflaverat. Ibid.

‡ Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

§ Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi.

‖ Vide vol I. p. 318.

the



the ſoldiers appear with helmets upon their heads, and their form ſuch as has been already deſcribed. In the reign of king Æthelſtan, the chieftains of the army wore a breaſt-plate *, yet it is highly probable that this armour, as well as ſome which in the Saxon delineations appear like coats of mail, and cover the whole trunk of the body, were not in general uſe, but only worn by the nobility, and ſuch great men as could afford to purchaſe them †.

Armour of the Danes.

During the reign of Cnut, and the ſucceeding Daniſh kings, the armour was greatly improved, the ſoldiers then began to wear compleat ſuits, which, from its appearance in the ancient manuſcript delineations, appears to have been compoſed of leather, overlaid with a kind of net-work of ſtrong wire, yet ſo contrived, as to render it pliable at the joints; and this armour not only covered the trunk of the body, but the arms, the legs, and the feet of the wearer, leaving only part of his hands bare, that he might the better graſp his ſpear, his ſword or his ſhield. Beſides this compleat ſuit of armour, the helmet alſo at this period underwent great improvement, for it ſeems not only to be made of iron or braſs, but is alſo made high above the head, the better to ſuſtain the ſhock of a violent blow; beſides, a piece of iron, or other metal whereof the helmet was compoſed, was ſo contrived as to come down ſtraight over the noſe, in order to prevent the face receiving any injury from a croſs cut of the enemies ſword ‡.

Suits of armour become common.

And this ſort of armour, ſeems to have become very common at the time of the Norman conqueſt, from the numbers of figures ſo cloathed in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux §. With regard to the cavalry of the Anglo-Saxons, although in ſome delineations they are ſeen riding on horſes without either cruppers or ſtirrups, we muſt by no means conclude, that they knew not the uſe of thoſe neceſſary accoutrements; for in ſeveral Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, of very early date, we find the horſemen well provided with both theſe particu-

* Ingulph in his hiſtory of Croyland, in the account of the battle of Brunanburh, informs us, that Turketull wore a *breaſt-plate*, ſee note † page 214 of this vol.

† Two figures habited in armour like coats of mail are given from a Sax. MS. in the work before quoted, entitled Horda Angelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I. plate IV. fig. 6, 7, and on the ſame plate, is a very curious armour, worn by a king who is ſuppoſed to be fighting at the head of his troops. See the deſcription of them in the ſame book, page 29, 30.

‡ See theſe ſoldiers repreſented from an Anglo-Daniſh MS. plate IV. of this volume.

§ This celebrated tapeſtry which is yet preſerved in the cathedral church of Bayeux in Normandy, is ſaid to have been the work of Matilda, wife to William the Conqueror, and repreſents in needle-work, the hiſtory of the conqueſt of England by William, and ends with the death of Harold, at the battle of Haſtings. Vide Montfaucon's Monarchie Francoiſe, tom. 1 & 2.

lars.

lars *. The Saxon ſpurs have no rowel, but only a ſharp point; in other particulars, they do not differ much in ſhape or ſize from thoſe uſed in the preſent day †.

Tents, ſtandards, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons.

The encampments of the Saxons having already been mentioned, and the form of their tents, as they appear in ancient delineations ‡, any further deſcription of them here would therefore be unneceſſary; the offenſive arms of the Anglo-Saxons, were large ſwords, and long ſpears, to theſe the Danes added the battle-axe §. Every different body of troops that compoſed the Anglo-Saxon army, had their ſeveral ſtandards, which in form were not widely different from thoſe uſed by the cavalry at preſent ‖; theſe ſtandards had various figures wrought or embroidered upon them, and were highly eſteemed, eſpecially in the days of Paganiſm. The Danes in particular, had one, (in which they placed a ſuperſtitious faith) richly embroidered, having upon it the figure of a raven, and was ſaid to have been the work of the three daughters of Lothbroc, the ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, which ſtandard was taken from them when their army was overcome, and their chieftain, Hubba, ſlain by the men of Devonſhire, A. D. 878. Some of our ancient Anglo-Saxon kings had ſtandards born before them, as they rode from place to place throughout their territories, even in time of peace ¶, and ſometimes the military ſtandard of a king was after his death laid carefully upon his tomb **.

CHAP. IV.

State of Agriculture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, after the Union of the Heptarchy.

Agriculture neglected, and why.

WE have already conſidered the ſtate of agriculture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, during the Heptarchy, ſo that the leſs remains to be ſaid in the preſent chapter. At that time we ſaw how very low the rent of farms were, from whence it may be reaſonably concluded, that agriculture was not in a very flouriſhing ſtate, and the dreadful

* See vol I. of the Þorþa Angelcynnan above-quoted, plate IV. fig. 1. plate XI. fig. 2. plate XVII. fig. 6.

† See one of theſe ſpurs delineated, plate XVII. of this volume.

‡ See plate XI. of the firſt volume of this Chronicle.

§ This weapon was frequently not unlike a common ax, only longer and ſmaller; ſometimes it was double-edged, then it was ſtyled by the hiſtorians the *bipennis*, and at the battle of Haſtings, the front ſoldiers of Harolds army were armed with theſe axes, as Malmſbury has aſſured us. Malmſb. lib. 3. See various ſorts of theſe double-edged axes in the work above quoted of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I. plate XXII.

‖ See their form plate XVII. of this volume.

¶ Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 16.

** Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11.

troubles

troubles and calamities that followed, from the frequent invaſion of the Danes in the ſucceeding times of the monarchy, and which kept the chief landholders almoſt continually under arms for the defence of the country, muſt greatly have impeded the making any very material improvements in this uſeful art. This neglect of agriculture was undoubtedly the great occaſion of the famines that ſucceeded unfruitful years; for ſo little attention could be paid to the cultivation of land, that they ſeemed only to have taken care to ſow as much as might ſuffice for the ſucceeding ſeaſon, without any intention of procuring a reſerve in caſe of neceſſity, ſo that when an unfavourable ſeaſon deſtroyed their crops, or when they were trampled down by their enemies, which was frequently the caſe, the miſeries that enſued for want of proviſions were truly dreadful; thus, in the year 1043, a quarter of wheat was ſold for ſixty Saxon pennies *, which exorbitant price muſt have greatly diſtreſſed not only the poor, but even thoſe of a middling rank; and this was the cauſe, together with the ſcarcity of money, that the purchaſe of land at this period was ſo remarkably low; for at or near Ely, about the reign of king Eadger the Peaceable, an acre of the beſt land, upon an average, was valued at only ſixteen Saxon pennies †, but, perhaps, as the Eaſt-Angles was one of the parts of England that ſuffered moſt from the Danes, and was at this very time partly poſſeſſed by that rude people, this price ought not to be conſidered as the average rate of land throughout the kingdom, eſpecially in Weſſex, where the outrages of the Danes had not been ſo ſharply felt. About the ſame time, and at the ſame part of the kingdom, the price of a ſheep was one Saxon ſhilling, and of a good horſe, ten ſhillings of the ſame money: thus we ſee, that four ſheep would purchaſe one acre of the beſt land, and one horſe three acres ‡.

Scarcity of proviſions.

The great ſcarcity of proviſions, and the various neceſſaries of life which frequently afflicted the Saxons during the preſent period, is conſidered by ſeveral authors as a ſtrong proof of a ſcanty population; and indeed ſuch arguments ſeem to carry great weight with them. The general prices of proviſions at this time were undoubtedly often changed, according to the produce of the ſeaſon, and affected by many other various accidents. In the reign of Æthelſtan, a good ram is ſaid to have been worth four-pence §, and in the laws of Æthelred the Unready, who reigned from A. D. 979, to A. D. 1016, the prices to be paid for the following animals were aſcertained, if they

* Sixty Saxon pennies was equal in weight of ſilver, to about 15 or 16 of our ſhillings, and were equal in value to ſeven or eight pounds of our money.

† Equal to four or five ſhillings of our money; here we may add that the above average price of land is taken from the various eſtimates recorded in the Ancient Hiſtory of Ely Church, publiſhed by J. Gale. Hiſt. Brit. XV. Script. &c. t. 1. p. 477, &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ Leges Æthelſtani.

were deſtroyed by any one; and it is with the greateſt reaſon that we may conclude them to be the average price by which thoſe animals might be purchaſed at market; they are as follows. For a horſe thirty Saxon ſhillings *; a mare or colt twenty ſhillings †; a wild boar, twelve ſhillings ‡; an ox, ſix ſhillings §; a cow at four and twenty pence ‖; a ſwine, eight pence ¶; a ſheep, one ſhilling **; a goat, two-pence ††.

The art of gardening.

We have ſufficient evidence that gardens were cultivated at this period, and that the art of planting fruit-trees, and ingrafting them, was alſo well underſtood, but more particularly amongſt the monks who were very aſſiduous in their rural labours. Their gardens were not only ſtocked with ſuch ſort of herbs and trees as were uſeful, but ornament and pleaſure was frequently conſidered ‡‡; and theſe, as well as their orchards, were diſpoſed in ſuch manner as to afford amuſement to the mind, as well as food for the ſupport of the body. In what manner their gardens or orchards were laid out, or their rules for planting, with variety of other particulars relative to them, are not to be diſcovered at this diſtance of time, not only from the ſilence of ancient hiſtorians upon theſe heads, but alſo becauſe nothing of the ſort capable of giving any ſatisfaction can be derived from the manuſcript delineations.

Inſtruments of huſbandry ſeem to have been improved.

Though agriculture was neglected at this period, yet in the delineations of the more modern Anglo-Saxon artiſts, ſome improvements were made in the inſtruments of huſbandry. The plough in particular had a ſecond handle added to it, which muſt have made it more convenient and uſeful. The form and nature of their other implements of huſbandry, as ſcythes, rakes, ſickles, carts, &c. will be far better underſtood, by being repreſented to the eye as given by the Saxons themſelves, than by the moſt elaborate deſcription §§.

* Equal in ſterling money to 1l. 15s. 2d.

† Equal to 1l. 3s. 5d. ſterling.

‡ Fourteen ſhillings and one penny, ſterling.

§ Seven ſhillings and one halfpenny, ſterling.

‖ Five and ſix-pence, ſterling.

¶ One ſhilling and ten-pence halfpenny, ſterling.

** One ſhilling and two-pence, ſterling.

†† Five-pence halfpenny, ſterling. Vide Leges Æthelredi, apud Wilkins et Lambard.

‡‡ The author of the Ancient Hiſtory of Ely cathedral informs us, that Brithnod, firſt abbot there, was very ſkilful in the art of planting and gardening; and to make the place more beautiful, he ſurrounded it with plantations, and laid out a very extenſive garden, with an orchard, filled with a vaſt variety of ſhrubs and fruit-trees, which being ſkilfully managed and engrafted, in a few years grew up to ſuch perfection, that at a diſtance the orchard looked like a wood loaded with abundance of excellent fruit, which made no little addition to the beauty and agreeableneſs of the place. Hiſt. Elien. a T. Gale Edit.

§§ See the moſt material inſtruments of huſbandry repreſented upon plate V. of this volume; for a more particular account, ſee the Appendix.



It is almoſt certain that at this period, there were water-mills in England, as may appear from a prodigious number of charters, wherein mills are mentioned as ſtanding near to rivers and bridges. Theſe low ſituations would have been very inconvenient for windmills, which however ſeem alſo to have been known to the Anglo-Saxons, and ſometimes are mentioned in the charters, but not ſo frequently as the former, which is a good argument that they were not ſo common. The form and conſtruction of theſe ancient watermills would be eſteemed a very curious acquiſition, but unhappily no ſuch thing can be traced from their delineations, or any deſcription be found in the ancient hiſtorians, ſo that nothing ſatisfactory can be ſaid upon that head. Mills in England.

CHAP. V.

Navigation and Commerce of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Acceſſion of Egbert to the Norman Conqueſt.

TO thoſe obſtructions or reſtraints upon a free trade mentioned in the former volume, the following, and perhaps not one of the leaſt, may be added, namely, the granting to the king a certain portion of the price of all commodities bought or ſold within his dominions, if that price amounted to more than twenty-pence, and this was one of the chief reaſons that all bargains of ſale above that value were ordered to be made within the gates of a town, and in the preſence of the ſheriff or portgrieve, whoſe office it was to collect this duty, which continued to be exacted to the end of the preſent period *. Reſtraint on trade

If ſuch laws as thoſe above referred to, are to be conſidered as eſſential obſtructions to commerce, the following inſtitutions were certainly well calculated to promote and encourage an internal trade, namely weekly markets, and anniverſary fairs. In the early days of Chriſtianity, amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, weekly markets were generally appointed to be held on a Sunday, that the people might have convenient opportunity of purchaſing what they wanted, at the ſame time they aſſembled together to perform religious worſhip; but it was ſoon found that this mixture of religious and ſecular affairs was productive of great irregularities, and hurtful to the true cauſe of religion itſelf. To reform theſe proceedings, many laws were Origin of markets.

* In Domeſday book, it appears that a certain portion of every thing bought or ſold in the borough of Lewis, in Suſſex, was to be paid to the portrieve, one half by the ſeller, and the other half by the buyer; and particularly four-pence was to be paid him for every man ſold within the borough. Scriptores Brit. apud Gale, p. 762.

made to prevent the holding weekly markets upon the Sunday as had been uſual, but it was ſome time before the cuſtom could be entirely aboliſhed, as may appear from the frequent repetition of theſe laws, and the ſeverity of the fines which at laſt extended ſo far as not only to exact a certain mulct, but further ordered that all the goods expoſed to ſale upon the Sunday, ſhould alſo be forfeited *; and at the ſame time the market day was changed from Sunday to Saturday, ſo that all ſuch as lived at a diſtance, and had occaſion to come to the market, might alſo attend divine ſervice the day following, if they were ſo inclined; and this was a matter of great conſequence to them, when we conſider how few churches there were in England at this time, and the great diſtance they ſtood at from each other.

Origin of fairs. The yearly fairs were alſo appointed to be held near ſome cathedral church or monaſtery, upon the anniverſary of the ſaint to whom ſuch church or monaſtery was dedicated; the firſt inſtitution of theſe meetings was for a religious purpoſe, and it was then uſual for the people from the neighbouring villages to aſſemble the evening preceding the ſaints-day, to go into the church to watch and pray, during the night †; but, as the concourſe of people gradually increaſed, petty merchants and pedlars who had goods to diſpoſe of, attended alſo to vend them amongſt the multitude, ſo that by degrees thoſe religious meetings were broke in upon by affairs of a ſecular nature, and at laſt became meer ſcenes of licentiouſneſs and debauchery, which, being offenſive to the clergy, all nocturnal attendance was forbidden, and the people appointed to meet in the day-time, when a regular fair was held, to which were wont to repair not only the people of the village, in which the church or monaſtery ſtood, but others from neighbouring pariſhes, amounting to a prodigious number, eſpecially if the ſaint was held in great repute and veneration. If the ſaint's day happened to fall during the time of harveſt, that the people might not be induced to leave their neceſſary labours, the fair was ordered to be held on the following Sunday. The abuſe of this cuſtom, however ſoon became offenſive to the clergy, who failed not to preach ſeverely againſt theſe aſſemblies on the ſabbath-day, but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, they were not entirely aboliſhed, till a conſiderable time after the end of the Saxon monarchy ‡.

* Spelman's Concil. Brit. vol. I. p. 377. 404. 450. et alia.

† And hence theſe nocturnal meetings were called *wakes*, from the people's watching or *waking*, and the name continued to be given to the meetings by day, after the original cuſtom of *waking* was laid aſide. See a work entitled Þorþa Angelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh. Vol. II. pag. 98, and vol. 3. p. 179.

‡ Vide the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, as above.

The

The union of the Heptarchy muſt certainly be conſidered as a circumſtance highly favourable to the internal trade of the nation, ſince an end was thereby put to the continual wars and diſputes that ſubſiſted between the two ſeveral ſtates, and this advantage would undoubtedly have been productive of happy conſequences, had it not been overbalanced by the obſtruction put upon their foreign trade by the cruel and frequent invaſions of the Danes, who, in a few years, made themſelves maſters of the ſea, and plundered every merchantſhip that fell in their hands. We may readily ſuppoſe, that Egbert himſelf but more eſpecially his three eldeſt ſons, could not but be thoroughly ſenſible of the misfortunes they laboured under in not having a fleet ſufficiently powerful to defend their coaſts, and protect the foreign trade; but then the vaſt difficulty of raiſing ſuch a fleet ought to be conſidered. At this time the navy itſelf was fallen into decay, and few mariners were to be procured ſkillful enough to work the ſhips in caſe they had been in poſſeſſion of them. Yet, amidſt all theſe manifeſt diſadvantages, Ælfred the Great, the beſt of all our Anglo-Saxons kings, formed the deſign, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, of putting the Anglo-Saxons in the way of diſputing with the Danes the maſterſhip of the ſea, where they had long reigned invincible.

Commerce reſtored by king Ælfred.

We may eaſily be convinced of the low ſtate of the navy when Ælfred firſt formed this deſign, for in the ſpace of four years, he could not get together any more than five or ſix ſmall veſſels, with which he put to ſea in perſon, A. D. 875, and overcame ſeven of the Daniſh ſhips, taking one, and chaſing the reſt away *; but the troubles that ſucceeded upon the back of this victory were ſo numerous, that this great prince was obliged for a time to neglect the maritime affairs, and pay all his attention to the defence of the kingdom by land; but after the juſtly famous victory which he obtained over the Danes of Etheldune, A. D. 878, he purſued his favourite ſcheme with redoubled aſſiduity, and having perſuaded the conquered Danes to embrace Chriſtianity, he aſſigned them lands in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and made it their intereſt to defend that country they formerly came to plunder. Aſſiſted by them, who had many ſhips, and were excellent mariners, he fitted out a very powerful fleet, with which he encountered the other Daniſh fleets, with various ſucceſs. At this time, many of his own natural ſubjects, under the inſtructions of the confederate Danes, acquired ſkill in the art of navigating ſhips of war †.

Ælfred improves the navy.

Nor did this great monarch ſtop here: he alſo invited foreign ſailors into his ſervice, whom he rewarded very bountifully, and gave every other poſſible encouragement to navigation and commerce. Thus, in a few years, he raiſed a navy ſufficiently potent to guard the ſea coaſts, and protect the foreign trade: he alſo repaired the ſea port towns, and

Sea port towns repaired.

* Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c. † Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi.

[parti-

particularly London, which had long been the famous reſort for merchants: beſides this, he introduced new manufactures, and furniſhed many things for exportation.

Ships made on a new conſtruction.

The ſhips uſed by the Anglo-Saxons, at this period, were called keels or cogs, and they were clumſily built, being low, ſhort and broad, which made them very hard to work, and ſlow ſailors. Theſe diſadvantages Ælfred took into conſideration, and cauſed others, A. D. 897, to be built upon a different conſtruction, according to an invention of his own. Theſe new veſſels were twice as long as the keels, and much higher, which not only made them more beautiful in appearance, but alſo much more commodious for either war or commerce; for they ſailed much ſwifter, and, at the ſame time, their motion in the water was more ſteady and certain. Some of theſe veſſels had ſixty oars, and ſome more, ſo that they could not be very ſmall *.

Foreign ſailors encouraged.

When Ælfred had thus prudently ſecured the ſea coaſts of his kingdom, and afforded ſuch protection to foreign trade, he then proceeded to give great encouragement to ſuch foreigners as were in his ſervice, and alſo to his own ſubjects to undertake voyages, and to make diſcoveries both north and ſouth.

Ochter's voyage to the north.

One of theſe voyages was undertaken by Ochter, a Norwegian. He afterwards related his ſucceſs to king Ælfred, who took the pains to tranſcribe it from his own mouth †. Ochter herein gives an account of his ſailing from his own country, which was North of all the Normans, and proceeded beyond where the whale fiſheries were accuſtomed to go. He alſo relates his touching upon the coaſts of the Finnans and the Bearms, and his ending his voyage at the mouth of a great river, with variety of particulars extremely curious, though foreign from the preſent ſubject. The river, where Ochter finiſhed his voyage, is thought to be the ſame with the Dwina, upon whoſe banks the city of Archangel was long afterwards built. The Bearms were the inhabitants of the country anciently known by the name of Beormland, and probably lay upon the eaſtern banks of the Dwina. Hence we may ſee, that, even at this early period, when the art of navigation was ſo very imperfect, Ælfred had acquired a greater knowledge of the northern ſeas and land than any Engliſhman for more than 650 years after his death ‡.

Wulfſtan's voyage to the North

Another voyage was undertaken in the life time of king Ælfred by one Wulfſtan, an Anglo-Saxon, who, at the deſire of that prince, ſet

* Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 897.

† This voyage is preſerved in the Cotton Library, and it was firſt publiſhed with a Latin verſion at the end of Walker's Latin tranſlation of Spelman. Vit. Ælfredi.

‡ Capt. Richard Chancellor was the firſt European navigator who diſcovered the White Sea and the river Dwina, A.D. 1553, from the time of Ælfred. Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 386.

ſail.

ſail from Sleſwic in order to explore the coaſts of the Baltic, with the countries that are bordering upon that ſea *. He made a diſcovery of Langaland, Zealand, Falſter and Sconen, all countries belonging to Denmark. From thence he ſailed to Bergendaland †, which had a king of its own; and from thence to Blekinga, Meora ‡, Ocland, and Gothland on the left, which belonged to the Sweons §; and afterwards coaſted about Weonadland ‖, making many curious obſervations concerning the countries, the rivers, the people, and their manners. Whether the deſign of Ælfred, in promoting theſe diſcoveries of the northern countries, was purely commercial, or whether he might have meditated any military expedition into thoſe ports, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be diſcovered.

Sighelm's voyage to India.

Ælfred was equally as aſſiduous in opening a communication with the ſouthern world as he had been in his diſcoveries towards the north. He kept a correſpondence with Abel, patriarch of Jeruſalem, and, through his means, might likely receive information of various important particulars. He alſo ſent one Sighelm, an Anglo-Saxon prieſt, with relief to the Chriſtians, who were ſettled at St. Thomas's at Meleapour on the Coromandel coaſt in hither India, which voyage Sighelm performed, and returning back, brought with him a quantity of jewels of a new kind, and ſuch as had never before been ſeen in England ¶. We are certain, beſides, that Ælfred was poſſeſſed of great quantities of the moſt precious productions of the eaſt, which is a ſtriking proof of a large and flouriſhing trade **.

State of trade under Edwatd the Elder and Æthelſtan.

After the deceaſe of Ælfred, the former part of the reign of his ſon Edward was taken up by the diſturbances of the rebellious Danes, who broke from their allegiance, and harraſſed the kingdom. However, he not only ſecured his dominions by land, by erecting ſtrong caſtles, and places of defence, by which means the enemies were at laſt reduced, but carefully kept an hundred ſhips at ſea to protect the trade and guard the coaſts ††. Æthelſtan, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, A. D. 925, took ſtill more pains to increaſe the fleet, and made trade a road to honour: for, by one of his laws, he decreed, that if any mariner or merchant ſo proſpered as to make three voyages over the high ſeas in a ſhip and cargo of his own, he ſhould thenceforth be

* A ſhort journal of this voyage is alſo extant, taken down, as it is ſaid, by king Ælfred, from the voyager's own deſcription. Vita Ælfredi Mag. Appendix, p. 207.

† Perhaps *Bornholm*.

‡ Perhaps *Morby*.

§ *Swedes*.

‖ This is the name he gave to the whole coaſt of Germany waſhed by the Baltic.

¶ Malmſbury informs us, that in his days many of theſe jewels were to be ſeen amongſt the treaſures of the church of Sherborne, of which Sighelm was made biſhop upon his return from India. Malm. de geſt. Pontiff. Angl. lib. 2.

** Aſſerius tells us, that king Ælfred one morning gave him a fine ſilk robe, and as much frankincence, *(incenſe)* as a man could carry. Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.

†† Chron. Sax. &c.

advanced

advanced to the dignity of a thane, and entitled to the ſame privileges *; and, alſo, the further to facilitate and encourage commerce, he eſtabliſhed mints in ſuch large towns as enjoyed any conſiderable foreign trade. The principal of theſe towns were the following: London, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Exeter, Lewis, Haſtings, Chicheſter, Southampton, Wareham, and Shafteſbury †. By theſe, and other prudent means, the ſtate of trade was conſiderably improved during the reign of this prince.

State of commerce during the reign of Eadgar.

From the time of the deceaſe of Æthelſtan to the acceſſion of Eadgar, nothing material relative to commerce appears to have been done; but the ſpirit of trade, however, continued to increaſe, ſo that Eadgar was enabled to make a more powerful appearance at ſea than any one of his predeceſſors; but, it is probable, not ſo great as the monkiſh authors would have us believe, who talk of his having no leſs than three thouſand ſix hundred, or four thouſand ſail of ſhips, an incredible number to have been ſo ſoon collected together after the deplorable ſtate the navy was in, not ſo much as a century before ‡. In ſhort, it appears that Eadgar, being a great favourite with the monks, they took all occaſions of augmenting his grandeur; but thus much may with certainty be depended upon, that he had not only a very large fleet, but alſo that he kept them in excellent order, and cauſed them to be ſo properly ſtationed as to guard the ſea coaſts from all ſurpriſe, and effectually protect the trade. In order to facilitate commerce, he cauſed an excellent law to be made, that all the money, coined in the kingdom, ſhould be of one kind, which ſhould not be refuſed in payments; and alſo that the meaſures uſed at Wincheſter ſhould be the ſtandards of all the meaſures uſed throughout his dominions. If theſe laws were beneficial to commerce, the following may perhaps ſeem to lay it under ſome reſtraint, one of which was, that in all large towns, twenty three honeſt men ſhould be choſen, and in all ſmaller towns, twelve, to be witneſſes to all bargains made in the ſame town, and that no man ſhould buy or ſell any thing, but before two or more ſworn witneſſes. Another law enacts, that when a member of a tything went to a diſtant market, he ſhould before he ſet out acquaint the tything-man, or borſholder, what he intended to buy or ſell, and alſo

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 71.

† Leges Æthelſtani, cap. 14.

‡ From this prodigious number of ſhips ſaid to have been in the navy, ſome authors have been led to think that the tranſcribers of the ancient records may, by ſome miſtake or other, have added a cypher to the original number, and by that means made it ten times as great as it really was. If the number of ſhips was only 3000, ſuch a fleet would on a moderate computation, require no fewer than 300,000 failors to navigate it, which muſt have far exceeded the number of mariners then in the kingdom; and to favour the above ſuppoſition of a cypher being added, we may refer to the authority of Thorn, the ancient hiſtorian of Canterbury, who makes the number only 300, which is a great many, and ſhews how much they were increaſed from 100, the full compliment during the reign of Edward the Elder.

when

when he returned, declare to him what he had bought or ſold; theſe laws, though good in themſelves, muſt certainly have been very troubleſome in the execution *.

In the reign of Æthelred the ſecond, commonly called the Unready, the maritime affairs were ſo much neglected, that the Danes began afreſh to commit their uſual depredations, ſo that for the want of a proper and well-managed fleet to protect the ſea-coaſts, the foreign trade was greatly hurt. But, afterwards, in the year 1008, when the deluded people began to ſee the error in leaving their ſea-coaſts unguarded, a law was made, commanding the proprietors of every 310 hydes of land, to furniſh one ſhip for the royal navy, and in conſequence of this order, a fleet of ſhips was raiſed, amounting to 800 ſail †, which is a certain proof that the mariners and merchants, notwithſtanding the great diſtreſs of the nation, had not abandoned it or neglected the foreign trade, for without their aſſiſtance it would have been impoſſible to have collected ſo large a fleet together in ſo ſmall a time, and to have manned them as they ought to be ‡. State of trade in the reign of Æthelred.

Several good laws were made in the reign of Ethelred, as well for the ſecurity of the effects, as the perſons of merchants, when by contrary winds they were obliged to put into Engliſh harbours, or were wrecked upon the coaſts, which is a ſufficient proof of the encouragement given to foreign commerce, and from the laws made in the wittenagemot, held at Wantage (in which amongſt other things the rates of cuſtoms to be paid on the importation of various goods at the wharf of Bellins gate, at London are aſcertained) it appears that a ſociety of German merchants reſided at London, called Emperor's men, who paid to the king twice a year (viz. at Chriſtmas and Eaſter) for his protection, two pieces of grey cloth, one piece of brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two caſks of wine ‡. Laws relative to trade.

After the acceſſion of king Cnut to the throne of England, (which put a final ſtop to the cruel wars that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the Danes and the Engliſh,) trade began aga into flouriſh, and ſuch was the repute of that prince, and the tranquility of the times, that he found it neceſſary to keep only forty ſhips at ſea to protect the trade and guard the ſea coaſts, and this number was alſo ſoon after reduced to ſixteen. He had ſuch influence with foreign princes, that he obtained of them ſeveral privileges for the encouragement of his trading ſub- State of trade during the reign of king Cnut.

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. Reg. Ædgari.
† Chron. Sax. ſub. an. 1008.
‡ Leges Æthelredi apud Bromton. Theſe merchants were probably the ſame company ſo well known afterwards by the name of *Merchants of the Steel-yard*. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit.

jects *. Under theſe favourable auſpices, trade flouriſhed ſo greatly, that the merchants of London acquired a much greater influence in public concerns than they had been formerly known to poſſeſs, for it plainly appears, that they had a great hand in placing Harold, the ſon of Cnut upon his father's throne, being preſent, and aſſiſting at the wittenagemot, convened at Oxford for that purpoſe †.

State of trade till the Norman Conqueſt.

The ſixteen ſhips that Cnut had kept at ſea for the protection of the coaſts, during his reign, were ſupported at a moderate expence; but his ſucceſſor, Harold, raiſed the wages of the ſailors, giving to every common man, eight mancuſſes ‡, and to every commander, twelve mancuſſes yearly, out of which they were to provide themſelves with every neceſſary, this it is certain, at that time, muſt have been conſidered as a very liberal allowance. But Hardicnut, who ſucceeded Harold, raiſed the number of ſhips to ſixty, and gave the ſame wages to all the mariners as his predeceſſor had done; the payment of which occaſioned ſo ſevere a tax to be levied upon the people, as became the ſubject not only of great murmuring, but of ſome tumult §; from this period to the death of Harold the ſecond, A. D. 1066, the naval power and commerce of the kingdom gradually encreaſed, and was, upon the arrival of the duke of Normandy, in a very flouriſhing ſtate. It is true indeed, that it is impoſſible to make any certain gueſs at the number of ſhips in England at this period, or of their general ſize, but, with regard to the number, we may be well aſſured that it was greatly increaſed, and alſo that many of them were large and commodious.

Form of the Saxon ſhips conſidered.

The form of the Anglo-Saxon ſhips, according to their appearance in the ancient manuſcript delineations, has already been given in the preceding volume; the repreſentations of which ſpare all further deſcription of them. In the reign of king Cnut, if we can implicitly believe the accounts of a very ancient author, we ſhall find the ſhips were much more elegant and ſtriking than thoſe we have already repreſented. "So great (ſays the author abovementioned) was the beauty and ſplendor of his (Cnut's) fleet, that at the ſame time that it dazzled the eyes of the ſpectators, it ſtruck a

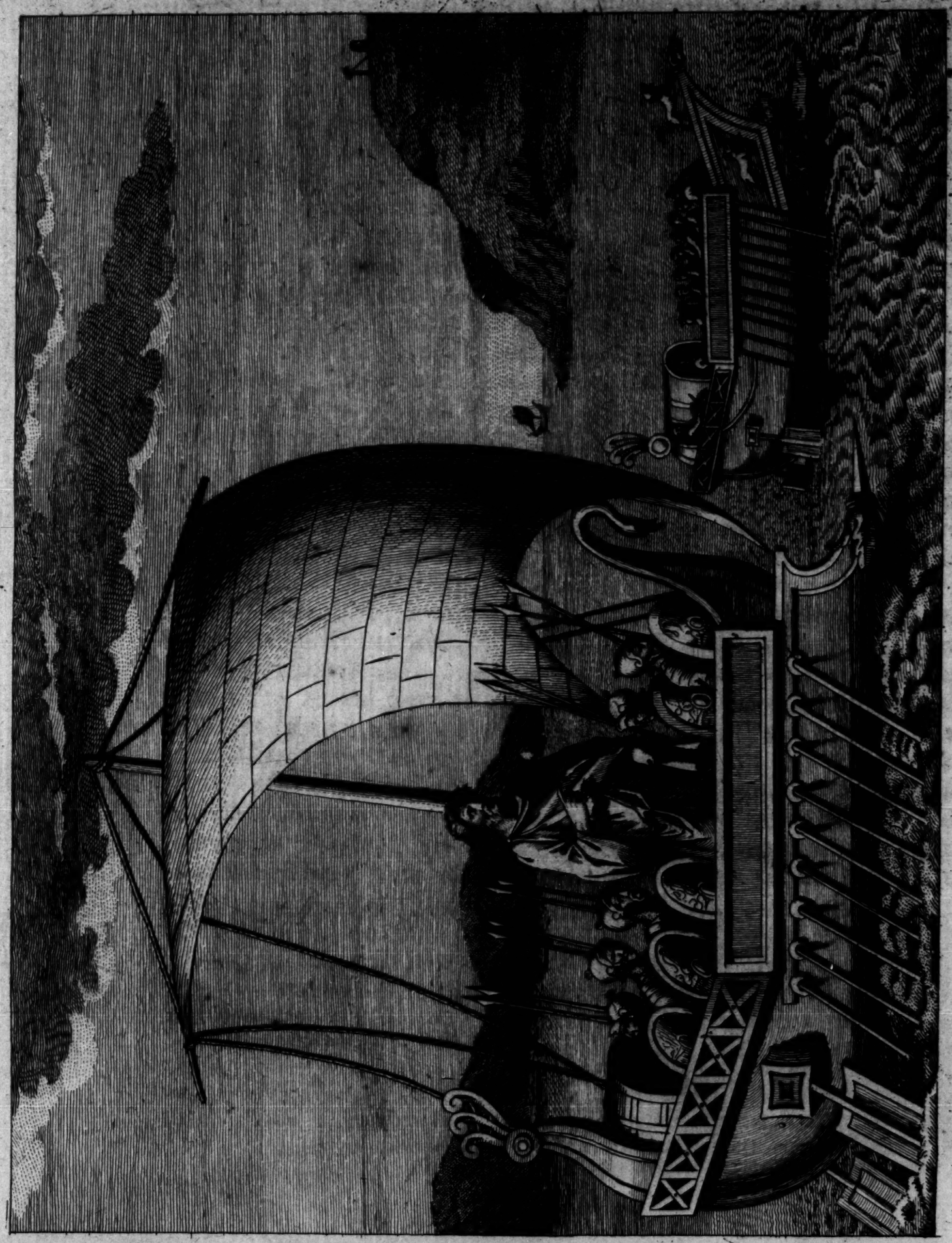
* This himſelf declares in his own letter ſent from Rome to the Engliſh nobility. "The emperor Rodolf, and other princes have conſented, that all my ſubjects, merchants as well as thoſe who travelled on account of religion, ſhould not be interrupted on their way, but protected without paying any toll. W. Malmſ. lib. 2. c. 11.

† The Saxon Chronicle informs us, that amongſt the number of nobility then preſent, were the *ſeamen of London*, and by joint conſent, Harold was there choſen to be king of England. Theſe *ſeamen of London* that at this time were members of the wittenagemot, were probably ſuch merchants as had made three voyages beyond ſea with their own ſhips and cargo, and by that means acquired the dignity and privileges of thanes. Vide Chron. Sax. ſub an. 1035.

‡ A mancuſs was worth about ſeven ſhillings and a penny, ſterling.

§ Chron. Sax. et Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 12.

terror



terror into their hearts; the rays of the ſun reflected from their poliſhed ſhields, the ſhining arms of the ſoldiers, and the ſides of the ſhips, which were richly gilt with gold and ſilver, formed a ſight as terrible, as it was magnificent; on the top of every maſt was the gilded figure of a bird, which turning on a ſpindle, diſcovered from what point the winds blew. The ſtems of the ſhips were adorned with various figures caſt in metal, and gilt with gold or ſilvered; on one was ſeen the image of a man, whoſe menacing countenance made him look as if alive; on another, was a moſt terrible lion of gold; on a third, a dragon of burniſhed braſs; and on a fourth, a fierce bull, whoſe horns were gilt, and in the act as if to ruſh on the affrighted beholders." Such, with ſome paſſages of admiration, is the deſcription given of this formidable fleet by a co-temporary writer *, and we have only to lament that no delineations whatever of any of theſe magnificent ſhips are handed down to poſterity, by comparing which, with the words of the author, we might the better judge of the impartiality of his encomiums. It were to be wiſhed that the repreſentations (which accompany this chapter) of a large ſailing ſhip, and the row-galley could compenſate for the deficiency we have juſt noticed †. Theſe are from a very ancient manuſcript copy of Virgil, written and illuminated at Rome, which if we may rely on the general report, is almoſt a thouſand years old ‡, and without doubt are exact repreſentations of the veſſels uſed at Rome at the time the delineations were made; as their form ſeems much more commodious than thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons given in the former volume, it may not perhaps be thought inconſiſtent if we ſuppoſe, that as a frequent intercourſe was kept up between the Anglo-Saxons and the people of Rome, they might in the more advanced ſtate of navigation borrow from them ſuch improvements as were neceſſary in the conſtruction of their veſſels. We may here obſerve indeed, that the figures in the ſailing ſhip are conſiderably too large for its ſize, but this fault the ancient artiſts conſtantly ran into in their delineation and baſs reliefs, where may be frequently ſeen, cities inhabited by people, whoſe heads riſe above the tops of the houſes, diſproportions of which ſort they ſeldom paid any great regard to, and which by no means hinders both the building and the figure to be in every other reſpect exact repreſentations of the things they were intended for.

Of the articles which were imported and exported by the merchants of this period, very little can be ſaid, or few additions made to thoſe which are already mentioned in the former volume. One great article of exportation amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, was ſlaves, in which kind Exports.

* Author of the Encomium Emmæ.

† See plate VI. of this vol.

‡ This MS. is in the Vatican library at Rome, and all the delineations were engraved and publiſhed by that excellent artiſt *Bartolo*, to whoſe induſtry we owe the engravings of the Trajan and Antonine Columns, the Admirandi Roman. and ſeveral other valuable works.

of traffic the Northumbers in particular were very famous, amongſt whom it continued for ſome time after the Norman conqueſt *; the people of Briſtol were alſo very much employed in the ſlave trade, which they purſued with ſuch eagerneſs, that they frequently ſpared not their neareſt relations; but at laſt they were prevailed upon by the preaching and exhortation of Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, (who poſſeſſed that ſee at the time of the conqueſt) to quit ſo barbarous and inhuman a traffic †. Horſes alſo were amongſt the articles exported by the Anglo-Saxons, and it ſeems that ſuch numbers of them were ſent abroad, that in the reign of Æthelſtan, a law was found neceſſary to prohibit the exportation of horſes, but ſuch as were preſents ‡.

Imports. Books, which were exceſſive dear at this period, certainly formed a part, and that perhaps not very inconſiderable, of the imports, eſpecially in the early time of the heptarchy, and upon the firſt converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, and if in the after ages when they began to write themſelves, and tranſcribe the moſt uſeful authors, this article might become leſs conſequential, another was quickly found to ſupply its place, which was leſs uſeful, though equally eſteemed, ſuch as the relics of ſaints with their images and pictures, which bore a vaſt price, and were manufactured chiefly at Rome, from whence they were diſpoſed of to the deluded multitude, who were as highly pleaſed as they were wretchedly deluded by their purchaſe. The various habits for the clergy, the veſſels for the celebration of the holy offices, with a great variety of other things at this time held neceſſary for moſt of the religious ceremonies, might alſo be conſidered as articles of foreign importation. Precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, ſilk, linen, ſpices, drugs and other precious productions of the eaſt, were alſo imported from the city of Italy, whither, if an Engliſh ceorl went three times, and returned back with his cargo to England, he obtained the dignity of a thane. Various other merchandiſes were alſo imported at this period, as wines from France and Spain; cloths from Germany and Flanders; furs, deer ſkins, whale oil and ropes, &c. from Scandinavia §; after all, however, it appears, that the balance of trade was in favour of England, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for the inhabitants to have raiſed ſuch vaſt ſums of money as were from time to time exacted of them, and carried out of the kingdom.

* Malmſb. lib. 1. c. 3.

† Vita Wulfſtani apud Anglia ſacra, tom. 2. p. 256.

‡ Leges Æthelſtani apud Wilkins, vel Lambard.

§ Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. I. p. 52.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Art of working Metals, and the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

THE art of working metals of all ſorts, as we have ſeen in the former volume, was well underſtood by the Anglo-Saxons during the time of the heptarchy *, ſo that we ſhall not be ſurprized to hear that they were carried to ſome degree of perfection during the monarchy. The chief ſmith, of all other artiſts, was held in the higheſt eſtimation at this period; his office and dignity was great in the king's court, where he enjoyed ſeveral privileges, and his were-gyld was higher than that of any other artificer; this may be eaſily accounted for, when we recollect, that to the ſmith belonged the fabricating not only their arms, but a vaſt variety of other neceſſary utenſils both for the uſe and conveniency of life. Some of theſe artiſts arrived at ſuch perfection, that the arms or utenſils made by them were particularly regarded, as may appear in ſeveral wills of the Anglo-Saxon princes and nobles, where the name of the maker is often put to the arms bequeathed, in order to make the gift more eſtimable †. At this period, the ſmith's employment ſeems by no means to have confined him to the working in iron alone, the working in gold, in ſilver, in braſs, and every other metal, appear to have been but different branches of his profeſſion, and the clergy themſelves (for they were all obliged to learn ſome mechanic art) were not the leaſt ſkilful in theſe works, for even the celebrated St. Dunſtan, underſtood the art of working metals, whether gold, ſilver, iron, or braſs, in the greateſt perfection; and the things that he made, he ſometimes ornamented with images and letters, which he engraved thereon ‡.

Progreſs in the art of working metals.

Though all theſe arts were underſtood in ſome degree during the heptarchy, yet it is certain they received conſiderable improvement in the reign of Ælfred the Great, who invited a great number of foreign artiſts into his kingdom, and amongſt the reſt were undoubtedly ſome who excelled in the working of metals, by whoſe inſtruc-

This art improved in the reign of Ælfred the Great.

* Vol. I. part V. chap. VI. p. 338.

† Thus in the will of prince Æthelſtan, ſon to king Æthelred the ſecond, made A. D. 1015, we find bequeathed to the church at Wincheſter his "ſilver hilted ſword, which Walfrike made, and his gilt pouch and bracelet, which the ſaid Walfrike alſo made." The original of this will in the Anglo-Saxon language is in the poſſeſſion of Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. who politely communicated it to the author.

‡ Oſborn, his biographer, ſays of him as follows: "Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, poſſe facere picturam, literas formare ſculpello imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære & ferro quicquid liberet operam." Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 94.

tions,

tions, and the encouragement of that great prince, the Engliſh artizans ſoon arrived at a great degree of perfection, and before the end of this period, the works of the Anglo-Saxon goldſmiths were held in the greateſt eſteem, not only at home, but alſo upon the continent. The ſhrines or caſkets they made for the preſervation of the relics of ſaints, which they very curiouſly ornamented with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones, were, in particular, univerſally admired *.

A curious ornament belonging to Ælfred.

It were greatly to be wiſhed, that ſufficient number of the works of the artiſts of that period were at this time to be produced, by which a compleater judgment might be formed of the perfection they arrived at. There is yet in being a valuable jewel, made of gold, richly ornamented with a foliage, and a kind of work like filligree: in the midſt of it is the figure of a man holding two branches †. This figure is expreſſed only by a thin outline which is upon an enamelled ground, and over the figure is ſet in a piece of fine chryſtal, and round the border of the chryſtal are letters which import that the jewel itſelf was made at the command of Ælfred; the back part of the jewel is alſo ornamented with foliage, and very ſkilfully engraved ‡. Many conjectures have been made concerning the uſe of this curious relic; but the moſt probable appears to be, that it was a perſonal ornament which king Ælfred uſed to wear §. It was diſcovered at Ethelingrey in Somerſetſhire, where that prince concealed himſelf during his great diſtreſs, and where he alſo frequently reſided in his proſperity. The workmanſhip of this jewel is much beyond what we might expect to have ſeen at this early period, and fully confirms the accounts preſerved in hiſtory of the perfection the art of working metals is ſaid to have arrived at; but we need not have doubted, had we not luckily had the proof juſt mentioned, that the workers of gold and ſilver muſt have been ſkilful from the great demand there was for utenſils and perſonal ornaments of every kind made of that metal, which we ſhall find hereafter were in general uſe ‖.

Art of making gold and ſilver thread, &c. known at this time.

Nor were the abovementioned branches of working metals the only arts of that kind that were underſtood in the period we are now treating of; for we have the fulleſt proof that they were well acquainted with the making gold and ſilver thread for the ladies to work with in embroidery. They alſo not only gilded metals in great perfection, but beat the gold and ſilver into thin leaves, which they uſed for gild-

* They were called abroad by way of eminence, *Opera Anglica*, Engliſh works. Murat. Antiq. tom. 2.

† Thought to be the image of Saint Cuthbert.

‡ See two views of this jewel, plate XVI. of this volume, which are the exact ſize of the original, which is preſerved at the Muſeum at Oxford. See the explanation of the writing in the Appendix, where the plates are particularly deſcribed.

§ Hickeſiii Theſau. vol. 1. p. 142. Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 247. Wotten's Coſppectus, p. 18. &c. &c.

‖ See the following chapter on dreſs and habit.

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ing wood*, and in their manuſcripts to adorn and ornament them. There is now extant a beautiful manuſcript†, written in the reign of king Eadgar, and dated A. D. 966, in which is a picture repreſenting that king, our Saviour, and other figures richly ornamented with gold‡, and all the letters are gilt from the beginning to the end of the book.

Setting and poliſhing precious ſtones.

A thouſand proofs appear in hiſtory, that the art of poliſhing and ſetting of precious ſtones, was alſo underſtood by the Anglo-Saxons at this time; for the multitude of ornaments that were worn by the kings and nobles of this period, adorned with jewels, muſt have made this art a neceſſary branch of the goldſmith's employment; beſides which, the veſtments of the clergy, and the variety of utenſils belonging to the church, were frequently enriched with a profuſion of precious ſtones. The ornament deſcribed above, belonging to Ælfred, has a cryſtal ſet before it ſo ſtrongly, that it remains firm to this day.

A curious lantern deſcribed.

A curious lantern is in being, which is univerſally looked upon to be of Saxon workmanſhip, and from the ſimilarity between the ornaments that appear upon it, and thoſe that are found in the manuſcripts of the tenth century, we may fairly conclude it to be of that date; and this renders it very curious, both as a ſpecimen of the art of metalry, as alſo that of ſetting precious ſtones. The lantern is of braſs, and not inelegantly made, about ten inches high, and five in diameter at bottom, with a ſmall door on one ſide of it. The light was emitted from it through five rows of holes, in each of which was ſet a piece of fine cryſtal; and, on the top is a large piece of the ſame, through which a handle, now broken off above, was fixed to the cone. From the nature and conſtruction of this lantern (which as an exact repreſentation of it accompanies this chapter, need not be more fully deſcribed §) it is evident that it could not furniſh much light, and this has led many to think that it was uſed for ſome religious purpoſe, and might be ſet upon the altar in ſuch a manner as to throw light upon particular places where the images of ſaints, or precious relics might be hung up, in order to inſpire the congregation with the greater awe and reverence by an appearance ſo unuſual.

Ælfred the inventor of the lantern.

Before we entirely quit the preſent ſubject, it will be but juſt to acknowledge, that we owe the invention of the lantern to Ælfred the Great (whoſe actions ſhine ſo glorioufly, in every point of view, that we cannot ſufficiently admire them); and the origin of this invention was as follows: That prince, who was particularly careful

* Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, made, ſays the author of the annals of Winton, "Magnam crucem duabus imaginibus, "viz. Sanct. Mariæ & Johannis; & illas "cum trabe veſtitus auro & argento."--- Angl. Sacra, p. 293.

† In the Cotton Library marked Veſpaſian A. VIII.

‡ An exact copy of this curious picture may be ſeen in a work intitled, *The Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England*, plate I. with a full deſcription of it.

§ Plate VII. of this volume.

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that no part of his life ſhould be ſpent in vain, for the more regular diſpatch of buſineſs, he divided the four and twenty hours of the day into three ſeveral portions, in which he conducted the affairs of ſtate, attended to his ſtudies, and refreſhed himſelf with food and ſleep. That he might know when each portion of time was at an end (for clocks were not at this time diſcovered, and dials could only be uſeful when the ſun ſhone) he cauſed ſeventy-two pennyweights of wax to be made into ſix tapers, of equal weight and ſize, for his daily uſe; every taper was twelve inches long, and at every inch a mark was made; three inches of the taper burned one hour, and the whole of it four, and all the ſix, being lighted one after the other, compleated the twenty-four hours; and, by this contrivance, he knew what time it was, either by day or by night. But finding that oftentimes the wind, coming through the doors and windows of his chapel, (where the lights were kept burning) or the cloth of his tent, when he was in the field, waſted the tapers, and prevented their burning to any great certainty, to remedy this great inconvenience he cauſed lanterns to be made, framed with wood, which encloſed thin ſquares of oxens horns, and within theſe the taper was ſhut up, where it burned more regularly, and the rays of light were emitted through the horn, which was ſo contrived as to be almoſt as tranſparent as glaſs *.

Coinage, only a general account intended.

In the former volume, the account of the Anglo-Saxon coins was poſtponed, in order that it might be the more regularly purſued in the preſent chapter. It is true, that this article would require much more room than the limits of the preſent work can afford, if every particular were to be minutely entered upon; but as it is here propoſed not to give a hiſtory of coinage, but only to explain ſo much as may be neceſſary to give the reader a general idea of the Anglo-Saxon coins, we ſhall chiefly attend to ſuch particulars as are in general agreed upon among the moſt celebrated authors and judges, and paſs over diſputed points.

Sorts of money among the Anglo-Saxons.

The Saxons had two ſorts of money, one of which was ſingular enough, and is named, in their records, living money. This conſiſted of ſlaves, and cattle of all ſorts, which, according to the value fixed upon them by law, were equally current with gold or ſilver in the payment of debts †. The other money was of gold and ſilver, and the latter conſiſted chiefly of coined pieces, called by the Saxons penigas, or, in the preſent language, pennies.

Not known what Saxon king firſt coined money.

It is not poſſible to diſcover what Saxon king firſt coined pieces of money; however, the honour is generally attributed to Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 560 to A. D. 616, as no coins more ancient than his have hitherto been diſcovered. Af-

* Aſſerius Vita Ælfredi.

† Hiſt. Elien. apud Gale. lib. 1. cap. 10.

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ter his time, the coining of ſilver pennies became very common, not only in Kent, but alſo in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy*.

Names of the current money.

The various names of the Anglo-Saxon money mentioned in their laws, and other ancient monuments, are as follows: The pound; the mark; the mancus; the ora; the ſhilling; the thrimſa; the ſceata; the penny; the halfling; the feorthling; and the ſtica: but only two of theſe, namely, the penny and the ſtica, are poſitively known to be real coins; the reſt are eſteemed as merely nominal money.

The pound.

It is univerſally agreed, that the pound was by no means a real coin; but an appellation given to as many coins as weighed a pound in the ſcales. The Saxon pound is thought to have been the very ſame with the old tower pound, which was as follows: 450 grains in an ounce, and 12 ounces in a pound. Some have imagined, that the Saxons had two money pounds, one conſiſting of 12, and the other 16 ounces; becauſe it is very evident from ſeveral of the laws during this period, that it ſometimes contained only 48 Saxon ſhillings; and, at other times, no leſs than 60†. But others have accounted for this alteration in the number of ſhillings that compoſed the pound, another way, by ſuppoſing the value of the ſhilling itſelf to have been altered, ſo as at one time to conſiſt of four Saxon pennies, and, at another, of five, which, if granted, makes the pound always equal. Beſides the money pound, the Saxons had another weight of the ſame denomination, which was called the mercantile, or market pound; and the weight was ſo regulated as to contain 15 ounces, and was obliged to be properly ſtamped ‡.

The mark.

The mark, according to the univerſal agreement of the learned, was no real coin. Its value is thought to have been anciently as it now is, two-thirds of a pound. The Saxons had alſo two marks, as well as two pounds; one of them was called the money-mark, by which pure gold and ſilver were weighed; in the days of king Cnut it contained eight ounces: and the other was named the mercantile mark, by which all goods and merchandize were to be weighed: it contained 12 ounces §.

The mancus.

The mancus has occaſioned ſome diſpute amongſt the learned, whether it was really a coin, or only a part of the Anglo-Saxon nominal money; the latter, however, is, at this day, generally believed to be

* See plate XVII. vol. I. of this work, and the explanation in the Appendix, p. 362.

† It is plain that there were 60 ſhillings in the pound in the days of Æthelſtan, as appears from one of his laws, wherein the Weregild of a thane is declared to be 1200 ſhillings, and the Weregild of a king to be ſix times as much as that of the thane, namely, 7,200 ſhillings, which, adds the ſame law, is equal to 120 pounds; but by a law of Cnut againſt the violation of the peace in churches, 240 ſhillings is equal to 5 pounds, which reſtored the ſhilling to its former value. Vide Leg. Æthelſtani & Cnuti.

‡ Leg. Æthelredi apud Brompton.

§ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Brit. vol. 2. p. 497.

the truth, becauſe no ſuch coins have hitherto been diſcovered. The mancus contained 30 Saxon pennies; and was therefore the eighth part of the Saxon money pound *.

The ora. The ora is univerſally conſidered as a money merely nominal; its value is ſuppoſed to have been the weight of twenty Saxon pennies, equal to one-twelfth of the Saxon pound †.

The ſhilling. Many are the diſputes concerning the Anglo-Saxon ſhilling, which not a few authors have affirmed to have been a real coin; and true it is, that no money is ſo frequently mentioned in the ancient Saxon monuments as the ſhilling, by which the greater part of the mulcts or fines were regulated and to be paid: but it is now acknowledged as merely nominal, no ſuch piece having been diſcovered amongſt the vaſt variety that have been found from time to time. The value of the ſhilling was not always the ſame; ſometimes it was the fortieighth, and ſometimes only the ſixtieth part of the pound; but the exact times in which theſe changes took place cannot eaſily be diſcovered.

The thrimſa. The thrimſa was no coin, but a nominal money, containing three Saxon pennies; but the thrimſa is ſuppoſed to have never been univerſally uſed in accounts and reckonings ‡.

The penny. The penny was certainly a real coin, and perhaps the only ſilver one of theſe times, at leaſt no other have yet been diſcovered. The weight of the penny is not always the ſame, but varies conſiderably; and this difference is not only found in thoſe ſtruck during the Heptarchy, and in ſeparate kingdoms, but alſo in moſt, if not all, of thoſe that were ſtruck after the union of the Heptarchy, and that too in the coins of the ſame monarch. As 240 pennies were coined out of a pound weight of ſilver, every one of theſe pennies ought to have weighed 22 grains and a half; but they are rarely, if ever, found to be ſo heavy as that; the weight of thoſe which are yet extant, is found by perſons moſt converſant in this ſtudy, to be from 19 to 22 grains upon an average.

The Sceata. The Sceata is thought to have been the ſame as the penny.

The halfling. The halfling, ſo called from its being the half of a penny, is, by ſeveral authors, reported to have been a real ſilver coin, and, if it was weight, it ſhould have been 11 grains, or thereabout.

The feorthling. The feorthling; as the halfling has its name from being the half of a penny, ſo the feorthling alſo receives its name from its being the quarter or fourth part of the ſame coin, and if this alſo was a real ſilver coin, as many ſuppoſe it was, its weight ſhould have been five grains and an half. There are two reaſons advanced by the advocates for the halfling and feorthling's having been real coins; the firſt

* Aelfric, the grammarian, mentions this money, and declares this to be the the value of it.

† Ora valbat 16. denarios, vel duæ 32. denarios. Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‡ Clark on coins.

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is, that they are frequently mentioned in the ancient records of the Anglo-Saxons, in ſuch a manner as gives reaſon to conclude that they were; and the ſecond is, that it would have been very inconvenient, if not almoſt impoſſible for the poorer claſs of people eſpecially, to have purchaſed all the various neceſſaries of life without continual trouble and confuſion, if there had been no ſmaller coin than a penny. Theſe two reaſons ſeem very juſt, and if the prices of any article were fixed at a halfling or feorthling, as doubtleſs many were, how was the purchaſer to pay the vender if there was no coin leſs than a penny? However, it is certain that no ſuch coins as either the halfling or feorthling have yet been diſcovered; which, on the other hand, is a ſtrong reaſon to think, that they were not real coins.

The ſtica was undoubtedly a real coin of braſs, and many of them are in exiſtence at this day; but as there are no others found but what were coined apparently in the kingdom of Northumberland, it may very reaſonably be concluded, that they were not coined elſewhere. Their value is half a farthing. The ſtica.

After the foregoing ſhort account of the Anglo-Saxon money, whether real or nominal, the following table of their weights, and ſterling value may not be unuſeful. Table of coin.

	Weight Troy Grains.	Sterling Value. l.	s.	d.
Pound	5400	2	16	3
Mark	3600	1	17	9
Mancus of gold	56	0	7	0¼
Mancus of ſilver	675	0	7	0¼
Ora	450	0	4	8¼
Greater ſhilling	112½	0	1	2
Leſſer ſhilling	90	0	0	11¼
Thrimſa	67½	0	0	8½
Penny and Sceata	22½	0	0	2¾
Halfling	11¼	0	0	1¼-½
Feorthling	5½	0	0	0¾
Stica, braſs coin		0	0	0 ½

Beſides the money that was ſtruck in England, ſome foreign coins were current amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, as the old Byſantine ſolidus, called the byzant *; the moſt ancient Frank ſolidus; and the leſſer Frank ſolidus. The byzant weighed 73 troy grains of gold, and was worth about forty Saxon pennies, or nine ſhillings of our preſent money. The ancient Frank ſolidus was of the ſame weight and value as the Saxon mancus; the leſſer ſolidus was far inferior, being worth no Foreign coin current in England.

* The famous St. Dunſtan bought an eſtate at Hindon in Middleſex of king Eadgar, which he payed for in *byzants*. Cambden's Remains, p. 182.

more than twelve Saxon pennies, or two ſhillings and ten-pence ſterling *.

Fineneſs of Saxon coins.

The Saxon ſilver pennies (of which vaſt numbers are yet preſerved in the cabinets of the curious) are found in general to conſiſt of nine parts of pure ſilver to one of copper, and great penalties were exacted by law upon thoſe who debaſed the coin; one of the laws of Æthelſtan commanded, that if any minter coined money below the ſtandard, he ſhould have his right hand cut off, and nailed upon his mint door; and another law of Æthelred the ſecond, commanded the offender to be put to death †: but however juſt the miht-maſters might have been in keeping the ſilver as pure as it was commanded, they did not always attend with the ſame exactneſs with regard to the weight, which is found frequently to differ eſſentially, as hath been before obſerved.

Allowance made for the wear of coins.

Some authors tell us that the Saxons, having obſerved that the weight of the coins was conſiderably leſſened by long and conſtant uſe, ordained, that when a debt amounting to one pound was paid in pennies that had been ſometime in uſe, 250 of thoſe pennies were given inſtead of 240, the real number coined out of the pound weight of ſilver, adding one to every four and twenty, to make up the deficiency of weight, occaſioned by the wear of coin ‡.

The art of coining imperfect.

The art of coining amongſt the Anglo-Saxons was certainly very imperfect at this period, as all their money now in being may ſufficiently evince; there is little doubt to be made of the coins being ſtruck with a hammer, becauſe the invention of a preſs or vice for that purpoſe is of much later date. Concerning the workmanſhip of theſe coins, or their ſize, much need not here be ſaid, as theſe particulars will be much better explained by an exact repreſentation of ſome of them §.

Name of the town put on the coins.

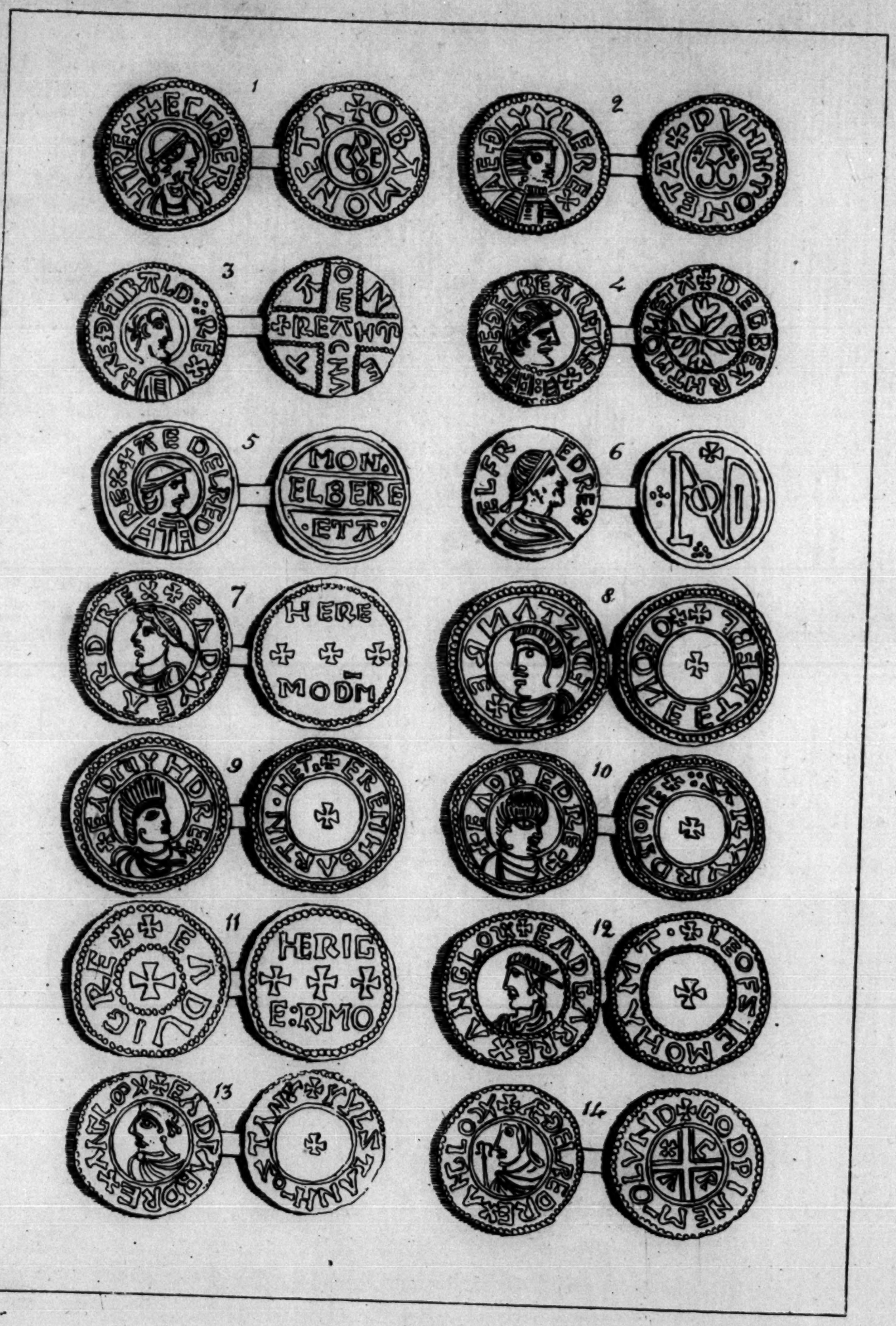
On the coins of the heptarchy, as well as thoſe of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, until the reign of king Æthelſtan, we ſeldom find any other name than that of the mint-maſter, which is ſtamped upon the reverſe; but that prince in the third year of his reign, A. D. 928, cauſed an edict to be made, commanding for the future, that the name of the town where the piece was coined, as well as the mint-maſters name, ſhould be put upon the reverſe; and this law was univerſally obſerved, not only during the Saxon monarchy, but in after times, as late down after the conqueſt, as the reign of Edward the firſt.

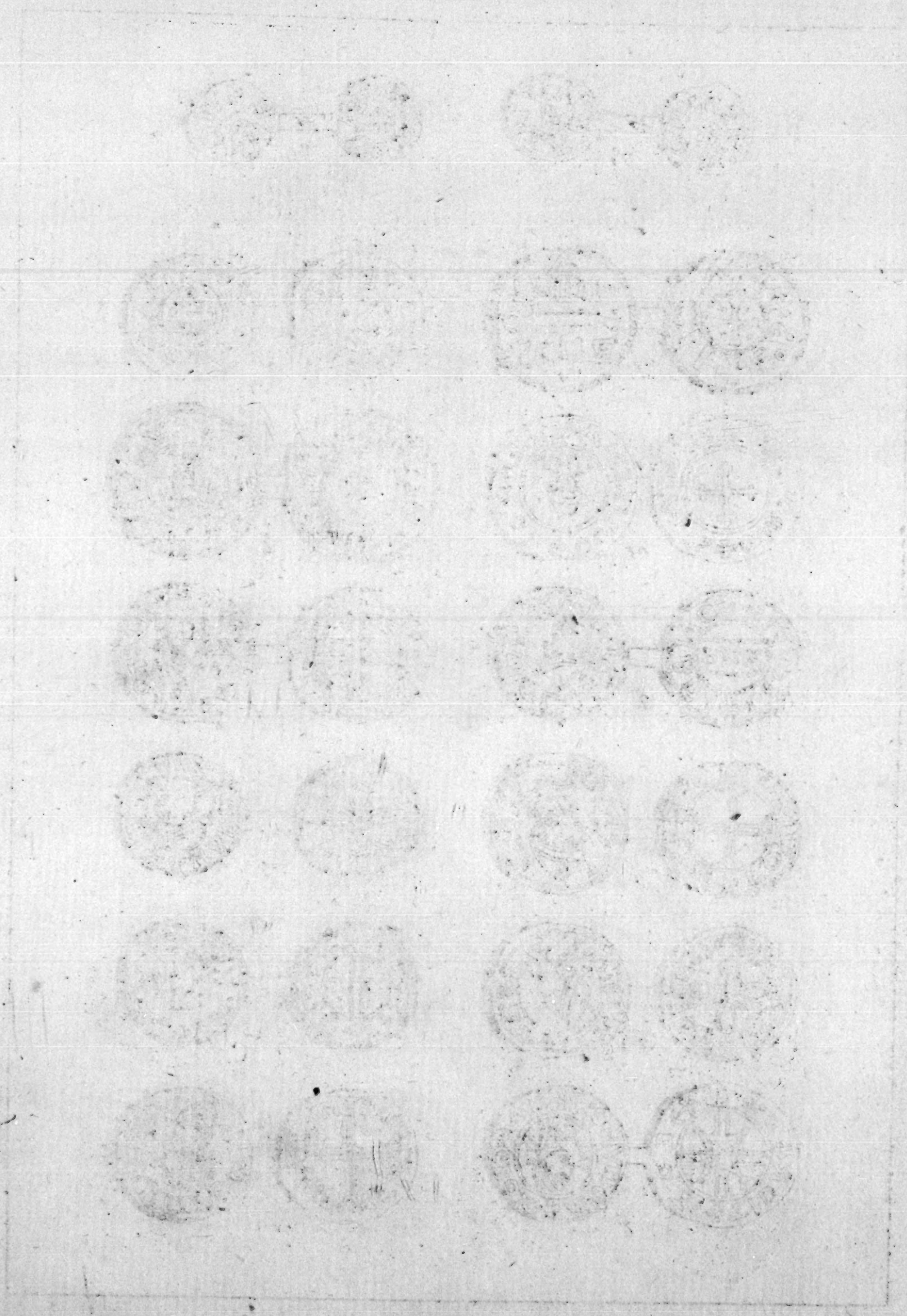
* Dr. Henry, vol. II.

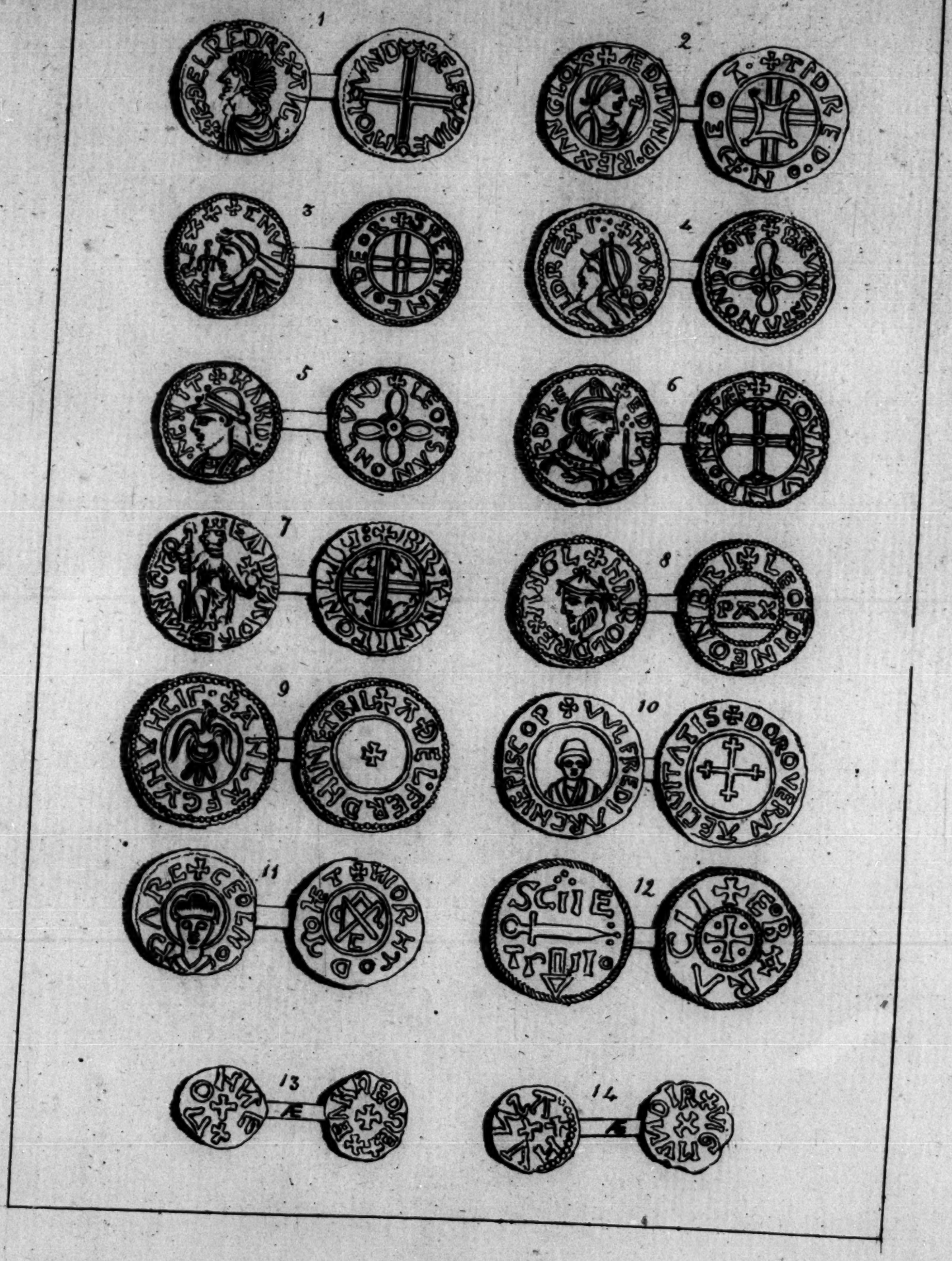
† Vide Leges Æthelſtani et Ethelredi apud Wilkins.

‡ Vide Dr. Henry, ut ſup.

§ See plates VIII. and IX. of this volume, with the explanation of the coins in the Appendix.


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CHAP. VII.

Habits of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes.

THE art of weaving cloths, and of dying, with other dependent operations, were known to the Anglo-Saxons long before the union of the Heptarchy, ſo that it will be needleſs to enter into any further diſcourſe concerning them, and more particularly, becauſe it will be impoſſible to diſcover to what degree of perfection they were carried in England at this period; ſilks, linen, and the moſt eſteemed cloths, however, appear to have been imported from abroad, and conſtituted a conſiderable part of the articles wherewith other nations ſupplied the Engliſh, not only at this time, but even long after the Norman conqueſt.

The art of weaving, &c. known before this period.

One thing we muſt not omit, for which the Anglo-Saxon ladies were very famous, and that was the art of needlework and embroidery with threads of gold and ſilver, and various colours, wherewith they not only delineated flowers, birds or other ornaments of the like kind, but alſo hiſtorical repreſentations of particular events, and the actions of great men. Wiglaf, king of Mercia, had a golden veil, whereon was worked in embroidery, the deſtruction of Troy, which he gave to the abbey of Croyland *. We may alſo mention the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, on which is repreſented a whole ſeries of events, beginning with the embaſſy of Harold the ſecond, to the court of William duke of Normandy, and ending with his death at the battle of Haſtings about two years after †; this, we are poſitively told, was the work of Matilda, wife to duke William, and the ladies of the court, many of whom were Engliſh, and greatly aſſiſted in the completion of this curious performance.

Anglo-Saxon ladies famous for embroidery.

The art of embroidery was in the higheſt eſteem at court, and a material part of the education of a young princeſs, or lady of the firſt nobility, and to excel in it was accounted a great honour. The four daughters of Edward the elder, in particular, are highly praiſed for their ſkill in ſpinning, weaving, and needle-work ‡.

Art of embroidery learned by ladies of higheſt rank

We ſhall now proceed to give as minute a deſcription of the dreſs of the Anglo-Saxons, as is conſiſtent with the preſent deſign.

The habits of the Anglo Saxons deſcribed.

* "Velum meum (*ſays Wiglaf in his charter to the abbey of Croyland*) aureum quo inſuitur excidium Troiæ." Ingulf. a Saville edit. p. 487. 6.

† Montfaucon's Monarchié Francoiſe.

‡ Malmſ. lib. 2. cap. v.

The

General habit of the men.

The general exterior habit of the men among the Anglo-Saxons, from the king to the huſbandman, appears to have been nearly of the ſame form, and to differ only in the fineneſs of the cloth, and the ornaments with which thoſe of the kings and nobles frequently abound. This common habit was a tunic, with ſleeves reaching to the wriſt, bound about the waiſt, from whence it was continued down to the top of the knee; over this they uſually wore a ſhort cloak, which was moſt frequently buckled upon the left ſhoulder, though ſometimes indeed, inſtead thereof, it was faſtened upon the middle of the breaſt; but this variation ſeems to be always the mark of a perſon of diſtinction *.

Particular habit of the nobility.

The habits particular to the nobility, and which ſeem never to be worn by perſons of the lower claſs, differed from thoſe above deſcribed, and bore a much nearer reſemblance to the royal robes of the king †; this habit conſiſted of a tunic with ſleeves, that reached down to the ankles, or at leaſt to the middle of the leg, and over that they wore a robe proportionable to it in length ‡; this habit however the nobility, to whom alone it ſeems to have belonged, did not often wear, but only when they were exerciſing their civil authority, or appeared on ſolemn occaſions at the king's court.

General habit of the women.

The general exterior habit of the women conſiſted of a tunic, which reached down to their ankles, and had looſe open ſleeves, that commonly ended at the wriſts, though ſome few inſtances are found of theſe ſleeves being long enough to cover the hands and reach ſome diſtance below them §; the tunic was girded about the waiſt with a girdle of cloth. They alſo conſtantly wore a veil which covered all the head and ſhoulders, and in general extended no further than the middle of the breaſt ‖, though in ſome inſtances the ſame veil reaches down all round the body, like a large cloak, without being open before ¶.

General habit of the clergy.

The habit of the Anglo-Saxon clergy, in the early ages of chriſtianity, was very plain and ſimple, and ſuch indeed we find it in the moſt ancient delineations; the dreſs of the monk conſiſted of a tunic like that of the nobles, long, looſe, and reaching to the ancles, over which they wore a large looſe gown, with large ſleeves reaching a little below the elbow **, and not much different from this was the habit of the biſhop, the chief diſtinction was the looſe gown or ſurplice

* See fig. 4, 5, 6. plate X. and fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. plate XI. and fig. 6, 7. plate XII. of this volume, &c.

† See plate XIX. of the firſt volume of this work, p. 343. and plate I. of the preſent volume.

‡ See fig. I. plate XI. and fig. 10. plate XV. of this volume.

§ See fig. 4. plate XII.

‖ See fig. 4, 5. plate XII.

¶ See fig. 1, 2, 3. plate XII. of this vol.

** Fig. 3. plate X.

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being rather longer than that of the monk, and the bottom of this tunic, as well as the edges of the ſleeves of the ſurplice, are ornamented with embroidery, while all the habit of the monk is perfectly plain and unadorned with edgings *. The archbiſhop has alſo a tunic like the two former clergymen, and a looſe ſurplice with large ſleeves, part of which falls down before him to his middle, and two other parts of it fall from each ſhoulder behind him as low as that in front; there alſo appears before him on the outſide of the tunic, two long pendant fillets, reaching nearly to the bottom of it, and ornamented at the ends with thin pieces of gold †. But in the ſucceeding times of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, the clergy laid aſide the ſimplicity of habit, and adopted other modes far more rich and pompous ‡.

Fine hair an ornament.

The Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes, conſidered fine long flowing hair as one of the greateſt ornaments a perſon could poſſeſs, which made them very careful to preſerve its beauty, and deck it out to the greateſt advantage; ſo happy were the Danes (who reſided in England, in the reign of Eadgar the peaceable) in the ſkilful management of their hair, that they thereby captivated the hearts of the Engliſh ladies §. To have the hair ſhorn off, was alſo a mark of the greateſt diſgrace amongſt the fair ſex, and was therefore one part of the puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as committed adultery ‖. Long hair being eſteemed beautiful, it was conſidered as a mark of ſelf-denial amongſt the clergy to be deprived of ſuch an ornament, for they were obliged to ſhave the crowns of their heads by way of diſtinction, and were by ſeveral canons forbid to conceal the tonſure ¶. The wearing of long hair was carried to ſuch an extravagant length during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, that it gave great offence to the clergy, and ſome of them preached vehemently againſt ſo unmanly a cuſtom **. Though the Anglo-Saxon ladies admired long hair, and were very particular in putting it into form, yet it is certain that when they were dreſſed, none (or at moſt a very ſmall part) of it could be diſcovered, their heads being conſtantly covered with a kind of hood or veil ††. The men

* See fig. 2. plate X.

† Fig. 1. plate X.

‡ See the figure of St. Dunſtan, plate III. of this volume.

§ J. Walingford apud Gale.

‖ Tacit. de morib German.

¶ Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 960. cap. 47.

** An ancient author gives us the following curious anecdote "The wearing of long hair during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor was ſo common, that Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, who flouriſhed at that time, not only boldly inveighed againſt this cuſtom and ſeverely reproached the people for their effeminacy, but when any one bowed down their heads to receive his bleſſing, before he gave it, he cut off a lock of hair with a little ſharp knife that he carried about him for that purpoſe, and commanded, by way of penance, that they ſhould cut the reſt of their hair in the ſame manner, denouncing dreadful judgments againſt ſuch as refuſed to comply with this impoſition." Vita Wulſtani Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 254.

†† See plate XII.

frequetly

frequently appear in the manuſcript delineations without any covering for their heads; but when they are covered, their common caps bear a great reſemblance to the ancient Phrygian bonnet, ſetting cloſe round the forehead, from whence they riſe with a curve *, but when we find the nobility attending upon the king, the curve at the top of the cap is omitted, and the cap is preciſely conical †; at other times they wore no caps, but diadems or circles of gold, or metal gilt ‡, and in ſome of the ancient monuments of this period, we find mention of half circles of gold, or gilt, which probably were uſed as hair tires by the women §.

Shaving of beards by the clergy.

Another particular mark of diſtinction between the clergy and the laity was, that the former conſtantly ſhaved their beards, whilſt the latter were permitted to let them grow as they pleaſed; but the cuſtom of wearing long beards gradually decreaſed, ſo that in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the Anglo-Saxons ſhaved off all their beards, except what grew upon the upper lip, which was permitted to extend to a conſiderable length ‖.

Shirts of linen.

The Anglo-Saxon nobility, and ſuch as could purchaſe them, were very fond of wearing linen ſhirts, which were made of ſofter and finer materials according to the purchaſer's price; as this part of the dreſs was worn next to the ſkin, we do not meet with the ſhape of it in the ancient delineations. In almoſt all the drawings of female figures, there is the appearance of an internal garment under the tunic, with cloſe ſleeves reaching down to the wriſts, which very likely was a linen ſhift ¶. The wearing of linen ſhirts was certainly looked upon as a ſpecies of luxury, becauſe woollen ſhirts are by the canons enjoined by way of penance for great offences **.

Tunics.

The form of the tunics we have already ſeen, and thoſe of the ſoldiers are ſaid to have been made of linen; if we may judge from the appearance of the womens tunics which are ſeen in the ancient delineations, we ſhall alſo have reaſon to believe that they alſo were linen, though dyed of various colours according to the fancy of the wearer. The tunics of the kings and nobility very probably were of ſilk, or at leaſt bordered and ornamented with ſilk and rich embroidery ††.

Robes or mantles.

The cloaks or robes of the Anglo-Saxons, like the tunic, were made of a variety of materials according to the rank and riches of the wearer; they were oftentimes ornamented round the edges with borders of embroidery of gold, or ſilks of various colours, and thoſe worn by the

* See figure 1. 3. plate XI. of this volume.

† See fig. 8. plate XV.

‡ See fig. 1, 2, 3. plate XV.

§ Healſne bœnd ȝyldenne. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

‖ Malmſb. lib, 3.

¶ See plate XII. of this vol.

** Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963. cap. 64.

†† See fig. 2. plate XIX. vol. I. and fig.

kings

kings at the time of their coronation were purple *; we find them of ſeveral colours in the ancient delineations; and from their appearance they ſeem to be made in general of fine cloth. The cloaks or mantles of the queens, or ladies of diſtinction, moſt likely were either ſilk or fine linen.

The veil part of the regal habit.

Wiglaf, king of Mercia, in a charter to the abbey of Croyland, makes mention of a golden veil, which was richly ornamented with embroidery, repreſenting the hiſtory of the deſtruction of Troy †, but what part of the royal habit this was, cannot be eaſily explained.

Stockings.

Figures in the moſt ancient delineations, appear with naked legs, but towards the latter end of the Saxon monarchy we find ſtockings very common, eſpecially amongſt perſons of condition, and might be made of woollen or linen; they appear to be made to fit the leg, and are wrapped about with a bandage, that makes many turns round the leg from the calf to the middle ‡.

Shoes.

The ſhoes ſeem to have undergone little or no alteration during the whole of this period, their form in moſt modern Saxon manuſcripts differs but little from thoſe in the moſt ancient; in the former they ſometimes appear to be enriched with ornaments and jewels §, and the uſe of them ſeems to have become more general, becauſe none but the ſlaves, and the very loweſt claſs of people, are painted without them.

Gloves.

Gloves were worn at the latter end of the period we are now ſpeaking of by the Anglo-Saxon kings and noblemen, and were a part of the duty that was paid to king Æthelred the Second by the foreign merchants ſettled in London for the protection he afforded them ‖.

Linen by whom moſt worn.

The greater part of the dreſs of the women of diſtinction and of the clergy ſeems to have been of fine linen, which was frequently ornamented with borders enriched with embroidery, if not with precious ſtones ¶.

Ornaments of gold.

Perſons of wealth of both ſexes were, at this period, extremely fond of ornaments of gold; ſuch as maſſy bracelets for the arms ** and neck ††, and rings for the fingers; chains of gold, and circlets ſet with jewels, which they wore upon their heads: golden bracelets were

* Ingulph. Hiſt. Croyland.

† Ibid.

‡ See fig. 6. plate XI.

§ See plate I. of this vol.

‖ See page 225 of this vol.

¶ See fig. 4. plate X. 2. 4. 5. plate XI.

** See one of theſe bracelets for the arms, as given from an ancient Saxon manuſcript, plate XVI. fig. 11.

†† We find bracelets for the neck mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon wills, where they are called by the name of ꝛpeop-beah, and ſome of them weighed 80 mancuſſes of gold, and ſome more. Some of the arm bracelets of the men would weigh 180 mancuſſes of gold, equal to ſeventeen ounces and three quarters of gold, Troy weight. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

worn by officers of diſtinction as civil and military badges of their office, and were frequently given by kings and princes to their followers as the reward of their valour or conduct; for which reaſon thoſe royal perſonages are ſtiled in the poems of that age bracelet-givers *.

Girdles, ſwords, &c.

Belts or girdles were admired ornaments among the Anglo-Saxon perſons of diſtinction, which were often curiouſly embroidered, and richly ſet with precious ſtones; from this belt the men uſually ſuſpended their ſwords, the hilts of which as well as the ſcabbards, were often adorned with gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones †.

Furs.

Furs alſo came into uſe towards the latter end of the preſent period, and were worn by the nobility: thoſe of ſables, beavers, and of foxes, were eſteemed the moſt valuable; but ſuch as could not afford to purchaſe them were forced to be content with others of leſs price, as the furs of cats and of lambs. The clergy, who at this time were as fond of pomp and finery as the laity, wore the richeſt furs, for which they were rebuked by Wulſtan biſhop of Worceſter, who contented himſelf with lamb's fur, which was eſteemed the moſt common of all ‡.

CHAP. VIII.

Learned Men, and the State of Learning amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, from the Beginning to the End of the Saxon Monarchy, with a ſhort Account of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

Decline of learning.

LEARNING was upon the decline towards the latter end of the eighth century, and, at the commencement of the ninth, was almoſt totally extinguiſhed §. Indeed, there were not above one or two men of the leaſt note in literature from the death of Alcuinus, A. D. 804, to the acceſſion of Ælfred the Great to the Saxon throne, A. D. 871, at which time the moſt learned man was Johannes Scotus Erigena, ſo named from his country Scotland, and the town of his birth, ſuppoſed to be the town of Air in that kingdom. This extra-

* Æþelſtan cyning, eorla dryhten, beorna beah gyfa; *Æthelſtan, the King, the Lord of Earls, the Child of the Bracelet giver.* Chron. Sax. ſub. an.

† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

‡ Vita Wulſtani Angl. Sax. t. 2. p. 259.

§ "At my acceſſion to the throne" (ſays king Ælfred himſelf, in a letter to Wulfsig, biſhop of Worceſter) "all knowledge of "learning was forgotten in the kingdom of "England, inſomuch that few to the ſouth "of the Humber underſtood the common "prayers of the church, or were capable "of tranſlating a ſingle Latin ſentence into "the Saxon tongue; but on the ſouth of "the Thames" (adds he) "I cannot re-"collect one that could do this." Spel. Vita Ælfredi, Appendix, p. 196.

ordinary

ordinary man finding none at home capable of inſtructing him, travelled as far as Greece in order to improve himſelf in learning, and by his aſſiduity acquired a greater knowledge in that language, and in philoſophical inquiries, than any other of his cotemporaries *. His learning, and other accompliſhments, gained him the favour of Charles the Bald, king of France. He wrote ſeveral books, ſome of which gave offence to the clergy; but his moſt capital work was a book concerning the Nature of Things, or the Diviſion of Nature †. Our Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that after the death of his patron Charles the Bald, he came over into England at the invitation of king Ælfred, and taught in the ſchools of Oxford, and that afterwards retiring thence to the abbey of Malmſbury, he was murdered by the ſcholars with their penknives ‡. But it has been juſtly obſerved by the modern authors, that the ancient hiſtorians have confounded this man with another John Scot a Saxon, who was a preceptor at Oxford, and ſlain by the monks of Ethelingey of which he was abbot; Erigena probably ended his days in France §.

Learning reſtored by Ælfred.

In the reign of Ælfred the Great, learning was again reſtored; but in ſuch profound ignorance were the times involloped in the early part of his life, that although he was the ſon of a king, yet, at twelve years of age, he had not been taught to diſtinguiſh one letter from another, ſo little was learning eſteemed neceſſary to compleat the education of a prince ‖, and, indeed, at the laſt, the knowledge that Ælfred acquired in literature ſeems rather to have been owing to an accident than deſign. One day, the queen his mother, had in her hand a book of Saxon poems, beautifully written and illuminated, which attracted the notice of Ælfred and his royal brothers, which the queen perceiving, ſaid to them, he who will firſt learn to read this book ſhall have it for his pains, which promiſe prevailed ſo much with Ælfred, that he inſtantly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of letters, and made ſuch a haſty progreſs that, in a little time, he not only read, but repeated the poem to his mother, and had the book beſtowed upon him according as had been promiſed. From this time he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to reading, and his thirſt after knowledge, inſtead of abating increaſed daily; but, want of proper maſters to inſtruct him, and the troubles of the ſtate which required his aſſiſtance, were great obſtacles to his improvement. However, that he might neglect no opportunity that offered, he conſtantly carried a book in his boſom, to ſtudy when he found leiſure. When he had reſtored peace to his kingdom by the reduction of the Danes, he redoubled his diligence in the purſuit of literature, and by conſtant application, became one of the greateſt ſcholars of the age wherein he flouriſhed. It

* Ball de Scriptor.

† This book was publiſhed by Dr. J. Gale.

‡ Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 4.

§ Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.

‖ Ibid.

is ſaid that he ſpoke the Latin language as fluently as his own, and was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek, though he did not ſpeak it *. He was, in ſhort, an eloquent orator, a great philoſopher, an hiſtorian, a ſkilful muſician and architect, and an excellent poet †.

Learned foreigners invited.

Ælfred, for the greater encouragement of literature, among his ſubjects, invited learned men from foreign countries to his court, where he gave them every poſſible encouragement, and favoured them with the higheſt marks of his eſteem. Some he kept about his own perſon as companions of his ſtudies, and to aſſiſt him in the education of his children; others he ſtationed in ſuch places as they might prove uſeful to the public, and advance the general cauſe of literature ‡.

Aſſerius a man of learning.

One of the chief of thoſe learned men whom king Ælfred invited to his court was Aſſerius, a monk of Saint David's in Wales, to whom we owe the full account of the life and actions of that great prince. Aſſerius was a great favourite with Ælfred, who was charmed with his converſation, and entreated him to ſtay with him at court, and return no more to his monaſtery; but though Aſſerius could not well conſent to this requeſt, he obtained permiſſion of the fraternity to reſide one half the year at the king's court, on condition of his tarrying the other half at the monaſtery. The greater part of the time he ſpent with the king was taken up in ſtudying with him, who, in return, made him many noble preſents §.

Grimbald.

Grimbald, a monk of Rheims, was another learned man, whom Ælfred invited to his court to aſſiſt him in the revival of learning among his ſubjects, who, from his knowledge in theology and eccleſiaſtical matters, and ſkill in church muſic, was very ſerviceable to the king.

John Scot, and other learned men.

John Scot, a native of Old Saxony, was another that received an invitation from the king, who came over into England, and taught in the public ſchools in Oxford. This man has been confounded by ſome of the ancient hiſtorians with Johannes Scotus Erigena; but it is evident that he was a different perſon ‖. Other learned men, who aſſiſted king Ælfred in his laudable deſign, were Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Werefrid, biſhop of Worceſter; Dunwulf, biſhop of Wincheſter; Wulfig and Æthelſtan, both biſhops of London, and Werebert, biſhop of Cheſter ¶.

Ælfred tranſlates books.

Ælfred not only cauſed theſe aſſiſtants to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to promote the advancement of literature, but alſo joined his own labours, compoſing many original works, and tranſlating others out of the Latin into the Saxon tongue, that they might be under-

* Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.
† W. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 4. Ingulph, &c.
‡ Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ingulph. Hiſt. Croyland.
¶ Aſſerius Vit. Ælfredi.

ſtood

ſtood by the people *; for whoſe uſe, and the encouragements of learning they were ſolely deſigned.

At the time Ælfred came to the throne, all public ſchools and ſeminaries of learning were deſtroyed; therefore, when he repaired the ruined monaſteries, and built new ones, he erected a ſchool in each for the education of youth; but as the learning acquired at theſe ſchools was chiefly religious, and confined to ſuch youth as were deſigned for the church, they contributed very little in ſpreading the light of literature amongſt the laity, the conſideration of which cauſed king Ælfred to form a noble deſign to make learning more univerſal, which he ſoon after executed. He determined, therefore, to inſtitute public ſchools on a more extenſive plan, wherein youth might be inſtructed in all the known ſciences by the beſt maſters that could be procured, and he fixed upon Oxford for the ſpot; and to enable his deſigns to be carried forward with the greater ſucceſs, he provided at that place all ſuitable accommodations, as well for the tutors, as the ſcholars †. Univerſity of Oxford inſtituted.

He alſo did all that lay in his power to encourage the purſuit of learning, the way to which he had rendered ſo eaſy and pleaſant, not only by his own zealous example, but by ſpeaking of literature at all times with the greateſt commendation, and by making it the road to preferment both in church and ſtate ‡. He was ſo ſucceſsful in his undertaking, that the thirſt for learning began to grow univerſal; the old nobility bewailed their want of knowledge, and corrected that error in the education of their children; and ſome of them, even in their advanced age, applied themſelves to letters with great aſſiduity. Before his deceaſe all the ſees in his dominions were filled with learned prelates, and ſuch as well underſtood the nature of their offices, and the duty they ought to perform; by which means the precepts of religion were better explained to the people than they had been done heretofore. Revival of literature.

After the death of Ælfred, learning gradually declined again; for Edward the Elder, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, not having a genius or taſte for ſtudy equal to his father, was not ſo zealous a patron of learned men. The ſubſequent invaſion of the Danes, who were profeſſed enemies to all civility and ſcience, may be thought ſufficient reaſons for this decline, and the occaſion that when thoſe men of learning who flouriſhed under the protection of king Ælfred, died, they were not ſucceeded by others of equal abilities; ſo that during the greater part Decline of learning again.

* The ignorance of the clergy was the occaſion of his undertaking this taſk, as he himſelf informs us in his preface to his Saxon tranſlation of the Paſtoral of St. Gregory. Vid. Spelm. Vit. Ælfredi, where may be found a compleat liſt of the works of this king, amongſt which his tranſlation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is one of the chief.

† Spelman Vit. Ælfredi Johan. Roſſii, &c.

‡ Malmſb. l. 2. cap. 4.

of

of the tenth century, and in the beginning of the eleventh, the light of literature was almoſt totally extinguiſhed, not only in England, but indeed all over Europe *.

University of Cambridge inſtituted.

But although Edward the Elder had not that ardent zeal in the cauſe of literature which his father manifeſted, yet he, in many things, imitated his example, and went ſo far (if we may believe ſome of the later writers) as to found or reſtore the univerſity of Cambridge after the ſame manner as his father had done at Oxford †. If this report is true, that univerſity was deſtroyed by the Danes in the beginning of the eleventh century, and not rebuilt till after the Norman conqueſt.

The children of king Edward famous for learning.

Edward was alſo very careful to give his children a liberal education, and they ſo far profited thereby, that they far excelled all the princes and princeſſes that were cotemporary with them in literary accompliſhments. Ethelward, his third ſon, in particular, is noticed by hiſtorians to have been a young man of very promiſing genius, but he died young ‡. Alſo Æthelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded him in his throne, is ſaid to have been a prince of great learning for the age in which he flouriſhed §; and his love for literature ſeems evident from one of his laws, by which it was decreed, that any man who acquired ſuch a proficiency in learning as to obtain prieſt's orders, ſhould be honoured with the dignity and privileges of a thane ‖. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, it is certain, that no men of any great note in the literary line flouriſhed, either during the reigns of Edward the Elder, of Æthelſtan, or, indeed, of any of the five ſucceeding kings; for notwithſtanding all the extravagant encomiums that have been beſtowed by the monks upon their favourite Dunſtan, and the praiſes they heap upon him on account of his learning, their aſſertions are rather ſuſpicious, becauſe in many inſtances, they have not ſcrupled to depart from the truth.

Total decline of literature.

After the deceaſe of Eadgar, the power of the Danes continually increaſed, and England became a ſcene of ruin and deſolation, and among other places that felt the effects of the rage of thoſe mercileſs invaders, Oxford and Cambridge, the ſeats of literature, were buried in ruins ¶. Ælfric, the grammarian, was the only learned man of note that flouriſhed at this time in England. He was a man of great erudition, and a voluminous writer, but his hiſtory is clouded with many difficulties. He appears to have been born about the middle of the tenth century, and was educated under Ethelwald, biſhop of Winchеſter, who took great pains to teach youth the rules of grammar, and the art of tranſlating Latin into Engliſh. Whilſt Ælfric was yet young, he manifeſted his ſuperior abilities by the progreſs he made in

* J. Roſſ.
† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 5.
‡ Ibid. c. 6.
§ Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 406.
‖ Chron. Sax. ſub an.
¶ Ib. ſub. an. 1010.

his

his learning *, and A. D. 987, he was ſent by Elphegus (who ſucceeded Ethelwald in the ſee of Wincheſter) to the monaſtery of Cerne in Dorſetſhire, then newly founded, where he compoſed a grammar of the Latin tongue †, and tranſlated eighty homilies out of the Latin into Saxon for the uſe of the clergy ‡. Theſe and other learned works procured him ſuch great reputation, that he was advanced at laſt to the archiepiſcopal chair.

State of learning at the concluſion of this period.

King Cnut on his being eſtabliſhed upon the Saxon throne, reſtored peace to the nation, after the long and diſtreſſing wars which it had ſuſtained, and being himſelf a man fond of literature, it is ſuppoſed he re-edified the public ſchools at Oxford, and granted them the ſame privileges and revenues they had formerly enjoyed §; but theſe they were deprived of again, after his death, by his ſon and ſucceſſor, Harold, and ſo remained until they were again reſtored by Edward the Confeſſor, under whoſe influence, Oxford once more became the chief ſeat of learning ‖.

Cauſes that hindered learning.

The ſcarcity of books at this period, was a great hindrance to the progreſs of literature. Beſides the difficulty of procuring proper maſters of the ſciences for the inſtruction of youth, the tedious and perplexing methods in which the ſciences were taught, rendered them very diſcouraging to young minds, as for example, arithmetic, which is now learned by every common ſchool-boy, was at that time conſidered as a ſcience, almoſt exceeding the powers of the human mind to attain ¶. Nor is it at all ſurprizing, when we are informed, that the invention of Arabian figures was not known to them **, and this want of figures moſt probably gave riſe to the digital or manual arithmetic, by which various calculations were made ††, and this was eſteemed a ſtudy of ſuch importance, that it claimed the attention of one of the greateſt Anglo-Saxon writers, who took great pains to explain the rules whereby it was to be learned §§.

* Spelman's Concil. t. I. p. 572. Anglia Sacra, t. I. p. 130.

† Hence he obtained the ſirname of *Grammarian*.

‡ Anglia Sacra, theſe homilies are yet extant in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries.

§ Wood's Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.

‖ Thus much we may gather from the words of Ingulphus, who lived at this time. "I was born (ſays he) in England, of Engliſh parents, in the beautiful city of London, and educated in my tender years at Weſtminſter, from whence I was after ſent to *Oxford* to compleat my ſtudies, where I made a greater progreſs in the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, than moſt of my companions, and became well acquainted with the rhetoric of Cicero. Ingulf. Hiſt. Croyland.

¶ Epiſt. Aldhelm. apud Anglia Sacra. t. 1. p. 6, 7.

** They had only the ſeven following MDCLXVI, or the 27 letters of the Greek alphabet. Bedæ opera, p. 8.

†† Bedæ opera, p. 127.

§§ The reader may eaſily conceive that the want of ſuch numbers as are now in uſe muſt have rendered the ſtudy of arithmetic very tedious and perplexing.

As

Various ſciences conſidered.

As great difficulties undoubtedly attended the methods in which geometry, aſtronomy, and all the other ſciences were taught, ſo but few were found poſſeſſed of reſolution and aſſiduity equal to the taſk of acquiring the knowledge of them. How far they underſtood geography, at this period, may be ſeen by an old map delineated about the latter end of the ninth century *, which, however devoid of truth it may be in ſome particulars, yet there is ſomething in the general idea, or form, which plainly ſhows that the deſigner muſt have had better information of things than could have been expected, eſpecially when we conſider how few the travellers of this age were, and how confined their expeditions, and that learning of all kinds was chiefly, if not entirely, confined to monks, who ſcarcely ever quitted their cells.

State of medicine.

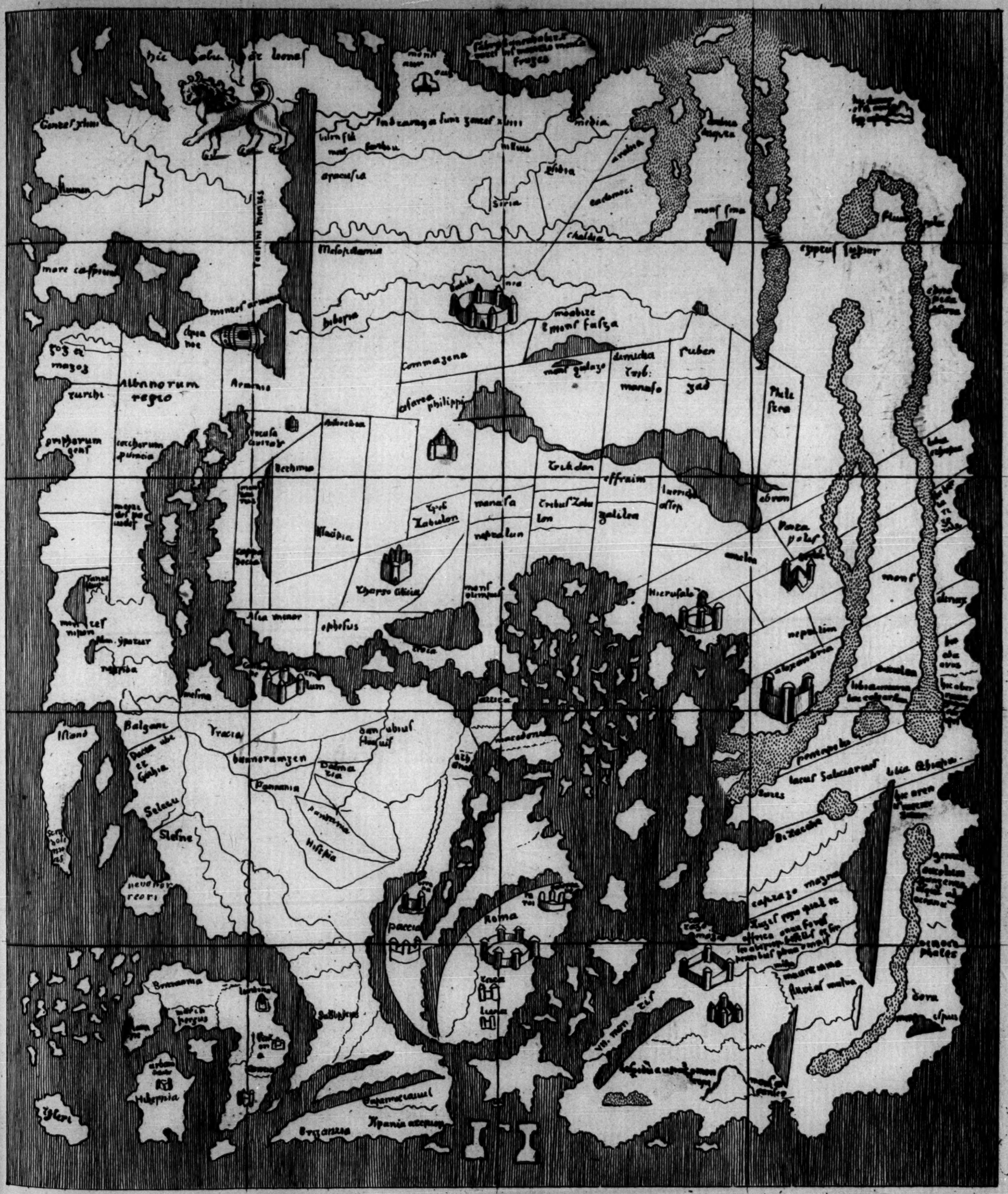
Concerning the ſtate of medicine at this period, we have but little information; but, in the early part of it we may believe, that it conſiſted chiefly of noſtrums which had been handed down from one age to another, which were often accompanied with whimſical rites and ceremonies, to which the ſucceſs was often in a great meaſure attributed. When this was the caſe, the profeſſion of medicine fell into the hands of the moſt ignorant people, and particularly old women were ſuppoſed to be the moſt expert in the applying remedies for the diſeaſes, and accordingly were in high repute amongſt the Anglo-Saxons; but after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the clergy took upon them the profeſſion of medicine, and the reputation of the old medicinal women gradually decayed. However, there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the clergy were not leſs ſuperſtitious in their methods of application of medicine, than their venerable predeceſſors, obſerving carefully, certain times and ſeaſons, which were eſteemed either fortunate or unfortunate, eſpecially the changes of the moon, and appearance of the planets, which were a matter of the greateſt moment to be conſidered, when any medicines were to be adminiſtered, or the patient bled †. After Ælfred the Great had ſet the example of tranſlating Latin and other books into the Saxon tongue, amongſt others that were tranſlated, were many medicinal ones, copies of ſome of which are at this day remaining, and one of them embelliſhed with delineations of a variety of herbs not ill done, when we conſider the low ſtate of the arts at the time in which it was written, which as near as can be judged from the hand, appears to have been during the tenth century §. By ſuch means as theſe, ſome knowledge of medicine was acquired before the concluſion of the Saxon government, at which time, per-

* An engraving of this map is given plate XIII. of this volume, which the reader will find particularly explained in the appendix.

† Vide page 345 of the firſt volume of this work, note ‡.

§ This MS. is in the Cotton library, marked Vitellius, c. 3.

haps,



MAP of the WORLD.

From an Ancient M.S. in the Cotton Library, marked Tiberius B.V.

haps, beſides theſe phyſical clergy, there might be perſons whoſe only profeſſion was ſurgery and phyſic.

Anglo-Saxon language conſidered.

Before we conclude this chapter, it is thought neceſſary to add ſome few obſervations concerning the antiquity and excellence of the Anglo-Saxon language. It was a branch of the Gothic or Teutonic tongue, which was one of the moſt ancient original languages of Europe. It is impoſſible to trace its origin; but at the period we are now treating of, it was copious and expreſſive, ſo that thoſe who ſpoke it might deliver their ideas with great force and perſpicuity *.

Its excellency.

As a mark of its ſuperior excellence, it has been affirmed, that almoſt all the original words of the Teutonic tongue conſiſted of but one ſyllable, and which was expreſſive of the nature of the thing ſo named, and that by a happy conjunction of theſe words a moſt expreſſive diſcourſe was eaſily framed †; but after all, there is not ſufficient proof that this was really the caſe, for in the moſt ancient remaining monuments of this language, it is certain that monoſyllables are not ſo very frequent, and though it muſt be confeſſed that moſt of the preſent monoſyllables in our modern language are of Saxon origin, yet it is equally certain that many of them formerly conſiſted of two ſyllables ‡.

The great change made in it at this period.

There is not the leaſt reaſon to imagine that any very great change was made in the Anglo-Saxon language during this period: we have no remains of it as it was ſpoken before their converſion to Chriſtianity, therefore it is impoſſible to trace it ſo high. All that can be done therefore in a work of a general nature, like the preſent, will be to lay before the readers ſome few ſpecimens of the Anglo-Saxon language in the remoter and more modern parts of this period §.

The Daniſh language.

With regard to the Danes, the language they ſpoke originated from the ancient Teutonic, as well as that of the Saxons, and on their ſettlement in Britain, did not long continue a diſtinct tongue, but was ſo blended into the Saxon language, that it ſoon became a particular dialect of the ſame. And this kind of Anglo-Dane-Saxonic was chiefly ſpoken in Northumberland, and the Eaſt-Angles where the Danes principally reſided.

* Camden's Remains, Verſtegan, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ As for inſtance, the Saxon word Cyn-nin3 is now contracted to a word of one ſyllable, *king*, ſo u-ꝑen is *our*, ꝑil-lo *will*, no-ma *name*, &c.

§ Theſe ſpecimens the reader will find in the Apppendix to this volume.

CHAP. IX.

State of the Polite Arts amongſt the Anglo-Saxons.

Sculpture. THE deſign of the preſent chapter is to offer ſome general remarks upon the ſtate of ſculpture, painting, poetry and muſic, during the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. With regard to ſculpture, ſo few ſpecimens of it are now remaining, that it will be impoſſible to form a fair judgment upon its defects or excellencies; the few baſs reliefs, perhaps the only ſpecies of ſculpture of the Anglo-Saxons yet undeſtroyed, are, it is true, but rudely cut, and particularly deficient where the human figure is intended to be repreſented, and more eſpecially where an attempt is made to ſhow the figure naked. If we can depend indeed upon ſome monumental effigies, which are ſaid to be the workmanſhip of the Saxons, we ſhould paſs a more favourable judgment * upon the ſtate of this art at the concluſion of the preſent period, than we had formed an idea of from the rudeneſs of ſome of the baſs relievos or the manuſcript delineations; however, it is generally thought, that the beſt ſculptures of the Saxons, were ſtiff, aukward and clumſy.

Painting. If the art of ſculpture was carried to no great perfection by the Anglo-Saxons, that of deſign and painting ſeems ſtill to have been more defective. The delineations we meet with in the more ancient Saxon manuſcripts are ſcarcely more than outlines, and in general of but one colour, which at preſent appears to be a deepiſh brown; but in the more modern times of the Saxon monarchy, we meet with ſome few attempts at finiſhing the delineations, which perhaps may indeed be thought by artiſts of the preſent age to be no great improvement, ſince the ſpirit of the outline is often loſt, or at leaſt they are rendered rather more gaudy than elegant; but ſome ſpecimens of theſe delineations in the manner they really appear, will doubtleſs be eſteemed more ſatisfactory than the beſt deſcription that can be given †.

* Such as the monumental effigy of *Vitalis*, abbot of Weſtminſter, (who died A. D. 1082.) in the cloiſters of Weſtmiſter abbey, which although at preſent almoſt defaced bears the marks of having once been well executed.

† Specimens of the art of deſign amongſt the Saxons may be ſeen plate XX. and XXI. vol. I. Alſo plates III. IV. XIII. XIV. and XV. of the preſent volume. Plate XV. in particular contains a variety of ſpecimens, and the MSS. from which they are taken are declared in the deſcription of the plates in the Appendix at the end of this volume. For a greater variety of ſpecimens the reader is referred to the firſt volume of the Þoþda Ænzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

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The famous St. Dunſtan is celebrated by his biographer, as very ſkilful in the art of deſign, inſomuch, that applications were made to him by religious ladies, to draw out patterns for them when they were deſirous of making any curious piece of embroidery *, and there is yet extant a drawing ſaid to have been done by the hand of this extraordinary man †; but if we may judge of the taſte of that age from this rude delineation, the concluſions we muſt draw from thence will be very unfavourable; at the ſame time it is but juſtice to declare, that this drawing of Dunſtan's is far out-done by many others about the ſame date; yet, after all that can be ſaid in favour of the manuſcript delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, it muſt be acknowledged, that they are in general ſtiff and inelegant, without any regard being paid to the proportion or perſpective; and the ornaments with which they are frequently crowded, (though better drawn than the figures,) are for the moſt part heavy and void of taſte. Dunſtan a famous artiſt.

It was very common not only to ornament books with the portraits of ſaints, of kings and other great men, but paintings of them were alſo placed in churches and monaſteries ‡; ſeveral of the former are remaining to this day, but all of the latter have been long ſince deſtroyed. Nor did the painters confine themſelves to portraits, hiſtorical delineations are frequent in the ancient manuſcripts, beſides which, they had larger pictures, repreſenting paſſages in hiſtory, and the actions of great men; ſuch a one was preſented to the church of Ely by Edelfleda, the widow of the famous Brithnod, duke of Northumberland, in the tenth century, wherein ſhe had cauſed to be painted the hiſtory of the great actions of her deceaſed lord, in order to preſerve the memory of his valour and other virtues §. Portrait and hiſtory painting.

It is a queſtion if the art of painting upon glaſs was known or not at this early period; but as there is by no means any ſufficient evidence that it was, all further enquiries concerning it are likely to prove ineffectual; we ſhall, therefore, paſs it over with a ſuppoſition that it was not. Painting on glaſs thought not to be known.

As writing, at this time, may be eſteemed a ſort of painting, we will offer ſome few general remarks upon it in this place. We have already ſeen, that even during the Heptarchy, books were written and ornamented with uncommon pains; and it became faſhionable to Writing.

* Anglia Sacra, vol. II. p. 94.

† It is a figure of Chriſt, ſeated with Dunſtan, himſelf in the habit of a monk kneeling at his feet; this delineation is copied from the original MS. in the Bodleian library, in the firſt volume of Hickes's Theſaurus, and alſo in the firſt volume of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh above-quoted, plate XVIII.

‡ Malmſbury informs us, that there were portaits of Styward, firſt abbot of Glaſtonbury, which were always repreſented with a whip or rod for diſcipline. Antiq. Glaſton. apud T. Gale, t. 1. p. 317.

§ Hiſt. Elien. apud Gale.

decorate the title pages, and initial letters, with great care. Towards the concluſion of the Heptarchy they ornamented them with gold and ſilver, beſides the variety of colours they continued to uſe, as in the foregoing period. One of the moſt ancient ſpecimens of writing among the Anglo-Saxons is a manuſcript of the four goſpels, written at the concluſion of the ſeventh century; the writing is very fair, and it is enriched with a variety of curious ornaments *. From the appearance of the inſtrument with which they wrote, it ſeems to have been made of metal, and not any ſort of quill †. Their ink appears, even at the preſent time, in manuſcripts that have been carefully preſerved, freſh and fair, ſo that it muſt have been made of a mixture of very durable materials; and it was in general laid on in a body; for, on paſſing the finger over it, it is frequently found to riſe up from the vellum. It is certain that they ſometimes wrote with a kind of ſize or glutinous ſubſtance, which they very dexterouſly gilt with thin leaves of gold or ſilver, and in this manner ſome of their books were ornamented; and indeed, one Saxon manuſcript is yet extant, which, from the beginning to the end, is written in letters of gold, or rather gilt, which, in ſome particular points of view, has a very pompous appearance ‡.

Poetry. Never was poetry more admired and honoured than in the preſent period, even kings themſelves were candidates for the laurel. Ælfred the Great was the beſt poet of his age. Poets were frequently choſen for the friends and favourites of the greateſt monarchs, obtained a place at their own tables, and were loaded with favours and rewards. Nor was it among the Anglo-Saxon kings alone that poetry was ſo much eſteemed; for, at this period, all the northern nations were equally fond of this art, and held thoſe who excelled in it in equal veneration. Cnut, the Daniſh king of England, was not only a poet himſelf §, but had conſtantly in his court ſeveral Daniſh and Norwegian bards, whoſe poems he took great delight in hearing ‖; and, indeed, poetry was in ſuch univerſal eſteem, that it formed a great part of the education of the nobility.

Surpriſing effects of poetry. In the hiſtories of the northern nations many extraordinary inſtances are to be found of the aſtoniſhing power of poetry, by which every paſſion of the human mind was to be excited or appeaſed ¶; and, indeed,

* See plate XX. vol. 1. See alſo various ſpecimens of writing, plate XVI. and the whole page plate XIV.

† See the repreſentation of the pen taken from a very ancient Saxon MS. plate XVI. fig. 3, and the penknife, fig. 2, of the ſame plate.

‡ This MS. is preſerved in the Cotton Library, and is marked Veſpaſian A. VIII.

§ Hiſt. Ælienſis, l. 2. cap. 27.

‖ Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 243.

¶ A remarkable inſtance of this is recorded in the ancient northern hiſtories. Egill Skullagrim, a famous northern poet, had in a quarrel ſlain the ſon of Eric Blodox, king of Norway; he was afterwards taken by Eric's queen, and ſent into Northumberland, where Eric then was. When the poet was brought before the enraged monarch,

Fig. 1.







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uuerold alla ſoſamo anerðu ſothar uppe

7 ȝe þorðponde 7 ðohðelond
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cuеð eft þona
onnttenuin
in birpllum him cuеð
iupoꝛocbolus eisdicer

9 lǽrdr ıóſepheyr
fæðen intopă
cyninge ſpꝛǽce
hine beforan.

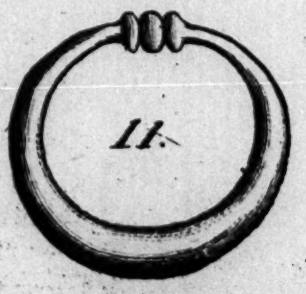
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þelig þiðe ſtodan.



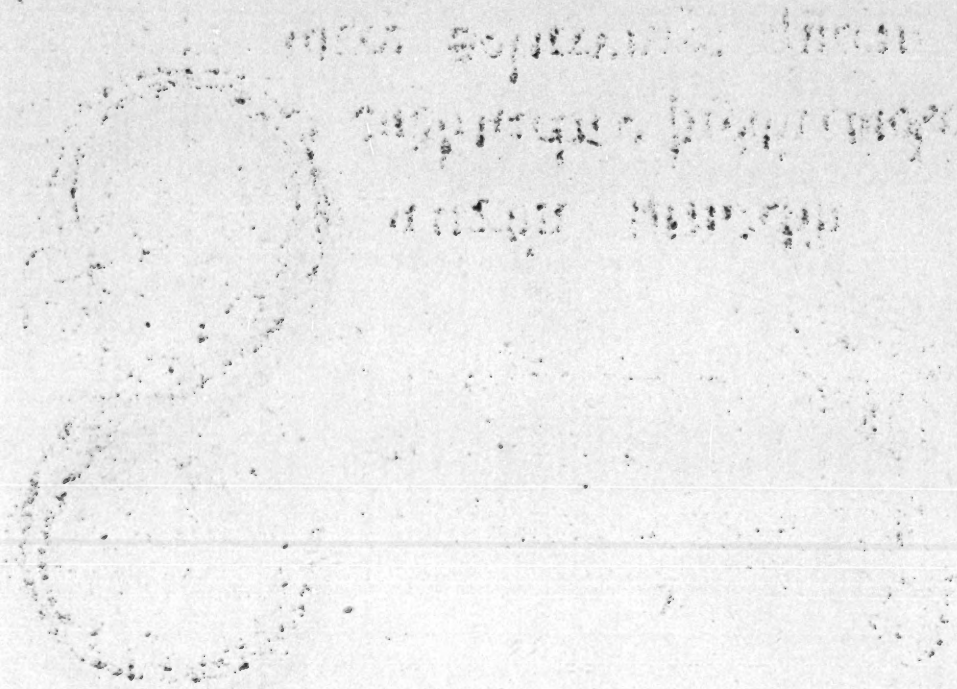
8

VCESSI

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cuðlꝛchto hyꝛſhchndc
unoc ſolittcnioc quœm



11.



deed, their ancient bards would frequently boaſt of the effects of their poems *. The poetical language of the northern poets was metaphorical and figurative in the higheſt degree; yet theſe metaphors were not ſuch as depended upon the will or invention of the poet, but ſuch as had received the ſtamp of public approbation from the more remote times. Their gods had a proportionable number of epithets according to their power and rank. Odin was called the Father of the Ages, the Supercillious, the Eagle, the Father of Verſes, &c. and ſo of the other deities. Rivers were called the Sweat of the Earth, and the Blood of the Vallies; arrows were ſtiled the Daughters of Misfortune, the Hail-ſtones of Helmets: the eye was called the Torch of the Countenance, the Diamond of the Head: the graſs and herbage, the Hair and Fleece of the Earth: the hair of the head was called the Foreſt of the Head, and, when white, the Snow of the Brain: the epithets for the earth were, the Veſſel that floats on the ages, the Baſis or Foundation of the Air, the Daughter of Night: night itſelf was called the Veil of Diſcourſe and Cares: a combat, the Craſh of Arms, the Shower of Darts, the Clangor of Swords, the Bath of Blood: the ſea was ſtiled, the Field of Pirates, a ſhip, the Scate of the Pirates, the Horſe of the Waves; and rocks the Bones of the Earth, &c. but this profuſion of metaphors frequently rendered the ſenſe of the poem very obſcure, but more particularly ſo to the readers of the preſent age †.

Their rules of verſification are very difficult to define from the vaſt variety of endings and meaſures of the verſes; for they had no fewer than one hundred and thirty-ſix kinds of metre, without including rhyme; and this metre may be chiefly, if not altogether, reduced to different kinds of aliteration ‡. Rules of verſification.

The droquæt, or common ſong, was moſt generally uſed, each verſe of which conſiſted of ſix ſyllables, each diſtich of two lines, and each ſtanza of four diſtiches, or eight lines. The harmony of this verſification was partly literal, and partly ſyllabical. The literary harmony conſiſted in three words in each diſtich beginning with the ſame letter; the ſyllabical harmony conſiſted of two ſyllables of ſimilar ſounds in each line, which were called the ſonorous ſyllables. This ſyllabical harmony was perfect, when it conſiſted in the two ſimilar ſyllables beginning with the ſame vowels and conſonants; and imperfect, when they conſiſted of the ſame conſonants, but not of the ſame vowels: the ſyllabical harmony might be imperfect in the firſt line, but it was always neceſſary for it to be perfect in the ſecond §, ſo that this Droquæt, or common ſong.

monarch, he began to ſing a ſong compoſed in his praiſe, with ſo much art and ſweetneſs, that he ſoftened his rage, and procured his pardon. Olai Wormii Literat. Dani.---Five ſpecimens of Runic poetry, &c. &c.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 192, 193, &c.

‡ Ibid. vol. 1. page 401.

§ All theſe rules are illuſtrated in the following two lines, where, for diſtinction ſake,

this alterative metre was capable of almoſt endleſs variations by changing the length of the verſes, and the number or poſition of the ſonorous letters or ſyllables.

Rhyme. Rhyme was alſo very common among the Norman poets, for not a few of their poems, which are yet in being, are moſt exactly rhymed, and even ſome of them have double rhymes*.

Variety of poems. The poems of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes conſiſted of ſo many various ſpecies that it will be impoſſible to enumerate them. Many of them, whilſt they were pagans, were hymns or ſongs of praiſe, compoſed in honour of their deities, which, on their converſion to Chriſtianity, were changed in favour of the ſaints and martyrs, for whom they held the higheſt veneration; beſides theſe, they had martial ſongs for the battle; others, celebrating the acts of great heroes; love ſongs for the entertainment of the fair ſex; ſatirical compoſitions for the expoſing of vice; elegies for ſorrowful occaſions, and ſprightly airs for the promotion of mirth and jollity †.

Muſic. If poetry was univerſally admired at this period, muſic was no leſs the object of general eſteem. The poet and the muſician were conſtantly the ſame, and the one appears to have been inſeparable from the other. Ælfred the Great was very ſkillful in muſic, which was of ſuch advantage to him, that, during the time of his diſtreſs, he diſguiſed himſelf as an ancient minſtrel, and went into the Daniſh camp, where he performed his part with ſuch excellency that he charmed the commanders, and was permitted to ſtay there till he had made every neceſſary obſervation concerning their ſtrength, and diſcovered their important councils ‡. Thoſe who excelled in this art were highly eſteemed, and uſually much careſſed by the greateſt monarchs. The famous Egil Skullagrim, mentioned above, on account of his ſuperior abilities in poetry and muſic, was ſo highly eſteemed by king Æthelſtan, that he could deny him nothing that he requeſted §.

Knowledge of muſic neceſſary. Some ſkill in vocal and inſtrumental muſic was neceſſary at this period, even in private life, to make a man reſpectable in company; for it was cuſtomary, at all the convivial meetings, for every man in his turn to take a harp, and play upon it whilſt he ſung a ſong agreeable to its notes to amuſe the aſſembly ‖.

Of

ſake, the ſonorous letters and ſyllables are put in capitals,

ChrISTus Caput nOSTrum
CorONet te bONis.

The letter C in this couplet is the ſonorous letter; IST and OST the ſonorous ſyllables in the firſt line, but imperfect, not having the ſame vowel at the beginning; and ON- -ON the ſonorous ſyllables in the ſecond line perfect, becauſe they conſiſt of the ſame vowels and conſonants.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1. p. 399, note *.
† Vide Hickeſii Theſau. vol. 1.
‡ Malmſb. lib. 2. cap 10.
§ Ang. Jonas Iceland, l. 2. p. 129.
‖ A remarkable inſtance relative to the truth of this is mentioned by Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He tells us, that Cædman had never learned to play upon the harp, or to ſing; ſo that if he was in company, and they took down the harp to play and ſing each in his turn, when the

Of all other inſtruments of muſic, the harp was the moſt eſteemed, not only by our northern anceſtors, but, by almoſt every nation in Europe. Thoſe who played upon it were eſteemed gentlemen by law, and their perſons ſecured from injuries by ſevere penalties: thoſe who excelled in it were readily admitted into the moſt ſplendid aſſemblies, and diſtinguiſhed with marks of the greateſt reſpect by people of the moſt exalted rank *. The harp.

The account of the other muſical inſtruments, as enumerated by an ancient hiſtorian who lived during the Heptarchy, has already been given in the former volume †. To thoſe we may add the following, which are mentioned by the writers of the middle ages, namely, the lute, the cymbal, the citola, the lyre, the ſyſtrum, and the campanula. Other inſtruments of muſic.

The form of the greater part of the ancient inſtruments are not known in the preſent age; ſome few of them, however, are preſerved in the manuſcript delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, and theſe have been thought, in every reſpect, worthy a place in the preſent work. Form of many ancient muſical inſtruments now loſt.

In the former volume ſome notice was taken of the organ mentioned by an ancient Anglo-Saxon writer, that it was probably a very ſimple inſtrument, compoſed of a certain number of pipes of different lengths and ſizes, and was blown into by the mouth. The repreſentation of an inſtrument of this ſort accompanies this chapter ‡, taken from an ancient manuſcript written during the tenth century, where it is poſitively called an organ §. We muſt not imagine that organs blown with bellows, and played upon with keys, were unknown in England at the period that manuſcript was written; for there is the cleareſt evidence that they were not only known, but alſo erected in churches. The famous Dunſtan gave to the church of Malmſbury, an organ with braſs pipes ‖; and Alwyn, alderman of all England, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, laid out the ſum of thirty Saxon pounds in building an organ in the church at Ramſey Abbey, which had pipes of braſs or copper, and was blown into by bellows, and played upon with keys, and was alſo furniſhed with proper ſtops ¶. Organs of this kind ſeem to have been known in the eaſt as early as the fourth century, but at Of the organ.

the harp approached Cædman, he would inſtantly riſe up, and depart to his own houſe "*aſhamed*," (as Ælfred in the Saxon verſion expreſſes it) that he was deficient in ſo general an accompliſhment.

* Leges Angl. apud Lindenbrog, p. 485. See the figure of the Anglo-Saxon harp, plate XVII. fig. 5.

† Vide vol. 1. p. 352.

‡ Plate XVII. fig. 4.

§ The MS. from which this delineation is taken is a Pſalter, and the whole of the picture (which accompanies the 137th pſalm) repreſents the Hebrews in their captivity at Babylon, where they are deſcribed by the Pſalmiſt as having hung their "*harps*" (for ſo our Engliſh verſion has it) upon the trees. In this delineation ſuch inſtruments as this are ſuſpended upon the trees; and in the text they are called organs.—"In ſalicibus in medio ejus ſuſpendimus *organa* noſtra."

‖ W. Malmſb. de Pontib.

¶ Hiſt. Ramſienſ. apud Gale, c. 54.

what

what time they made their way hither, cannot be aſcertained; but very probably not long before the above-mentioned period, becauſe the ancient hiſtorians ſpeak of them with the greateſt admiration, which ſeems a good argument that they were new and uncommon.

The violin and lyre, &c.

The violin conſiſted of four ſtrings, as in the preſent age, and was played upon much in the ſame manner*: they had alſo a ſort of lyre with four ſtrings, which were not ſtruck by the fingers, but by a ſmall rod, probably of metal, having a round ball or knob at the end†; and this inſtrument ſeems to have been chiefly uſed for dancing, when it was accompanied by two flutes, both of them played upon at once by the ſame perſon‡.

Effect of muſic.

The great and aſtoniſhing effects of the power of muſic, as related by our beſt ancient hiſtorians, make it certain that the knowledge of it was very extenſive in thoſe early ages; for they ſpeak of it as able to raiſe and inflame the paſſions of the human heart; to elevate the hero's courage; to diſpel ſorrow; revive the ſpirits of thoſe fatigued; improve their joys; cure diſeaſes, and promote not only the health of the body, but the happineſs of the mind§.

Pſalmody great part of the religious worſhip.

The Anglo-Saxons were prodigiouſly fond of pſalmody, for the greater part of the church worſhip conſiſted in ſinging; and in ſome cathedrals and larger monaſteries, the ſinging continued day and night by a conſtant ſucceſſion of prieſts, and, from time to time, they were joined by the laity as occaſion ſerved, who were equally delighted with this perpetual harmony‖. Indeed, moſt of their private devotions conſiſted in ſinging a number of pſalms, which was looked upon as the moſt efficacious way of appeaſing the wrath of Almighty God. The introduction of organs was a great improvement to this taſte with reſpect to the public worſhip, for with the aſſiſtance of thoſe notes, a much better effect muſt have been produced than when the chorus was entirely vocal.

One of the eſtabliſhed rules among the voluntary ſocieties that were formed in imitation of the tythings, was, that every member ſhould ſing two pſalms daily, one for all the members of the fraternity living, and the other for all that had been members, but were now dead; and, at the death of a member, each of thoſe that ſurvived ſhould ſing ſix pſalms¶ for the good of his ſoul. Almoſt all the penances impoſed by the clergy were to be redeemed by ſinging a certain number of pſalms, or repeating the Lord's Prayer ſo many times**.

* Vide plate XVII. fig. 1.

† Plate XVII. fig. 10. is the lyre here mentioned, and fig. 11, the inſtrument with which it was ſtruck.

‡ See vol. 1. of the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh, plate XVII. fig. 4. the other inſtruments of muſic upon plate XVII. are deſcribed in the Appendix.

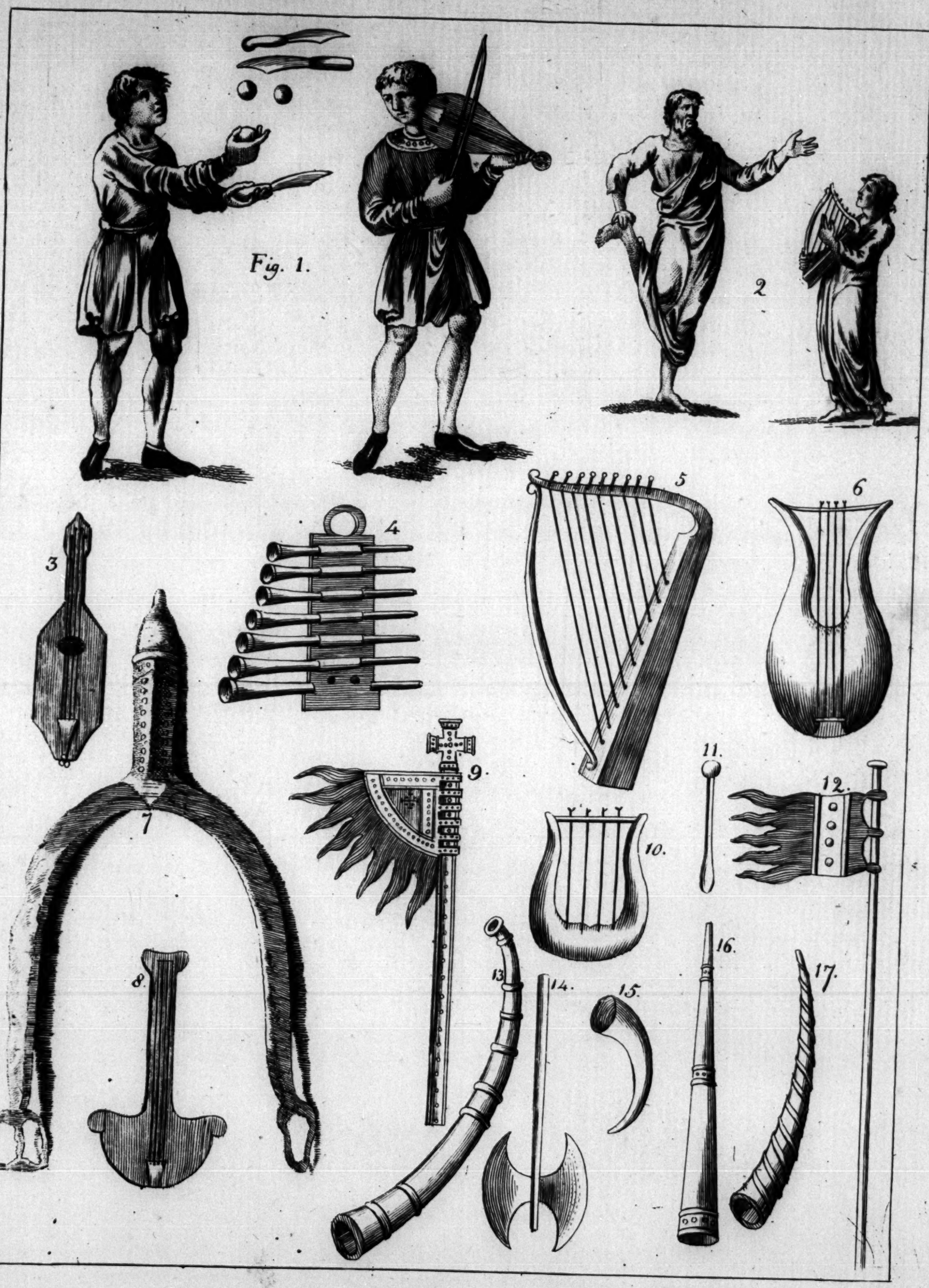
§ Bedæ opera, vol. 1.

‖ Muratori Diſſert. T. 4.

¶ Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 22.

** If a penitent was condemned to faſt for ſuch a number of days, the faſting might be redeemed by his ſinging the *Pater Noſter*, and the 119th pſalm ſix times over for each day's faſt. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963.

CHAP.


Fig. 1.
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CHAP. X.

Particular Manners and Cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes.

THE perſons and general character of our Saxon anceſtors were ſlightly touched upon in the preceding volume *, ſo that very little is neceſſary to be added here; there is indubitable evidence that the Anglo-Saxon youth were fair and beautiful †, more particularly the females, who in general poſſeſſed a large ſhare of perſonal charms. The Danes were very fond of their hair, which was in general fair coloured, like their complexions; many of thoſe who reſided in Northumberland, are ſaid to have had red hair ‡, and their eyes were moſt commonly blue, having ſomething particularly ſtern in their countenances when they were inflamed with anger §. Perſons and character of the Anglo-Saxons reſumed.

There is not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Anglo-Saxons were by any means defective in genius, but that the univerſal cloud of ignorance and ſuperſtition which darkened thoſe ages, prevented their ſhining with more luſtre. But yet, even amidſt all theſe manifeſt diſadvantages, ſome few men aroſe who poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of genius and mental endowments, ſuch were Aldhelm, Bede, Alcvinus, Ælfred the Great, Aſſerius, &c. Their genius.

Notwithſtanding the monks, through whoſe gloomy medium the character of our Anglo-Saxons is tranſmitted, have frequently been very bitter and ſevere in their accuſations againſt their country-men, the laity eſpecially, declaring them to be miſerably corrupt in their manners, and guilty of almoſt every wickedneſs and exceſs ‖, yet ſome have been candid enough to acknowledge, that though theſe vices were too general, yet they were by no means univerſal, and that, however depraved the manners of the greater part of them were, yet good and virtuous people were very frequently to be met with ¶. Character.

The piety of the Anglo-Saxons at this age, was clouded with ſuperſtition and error, which the clergy failed not to improve in the minds of the people to their own advantage, and ſpared no opportunities that offered to perſuade rich men to become monks themſelves, or make their children ſuch, by which means they obtained poſſeſſion of their Their ſuperſtition worked upon by the clergy.

* Vol. I. part V. chap. X. p. 353.
† Bede Ecc. Hiſt. l. 2. cap. I. et Eddius Vita Wilfredi cap. VI.
‡ Culver Antiq. Germ. p. 96.
§ Pelloutier, t. I. p. 198.
‖ Sermo Lupi, Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 104, 105.
¶ W. Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. I.

perſons and eſtates, and when they could not prevail ſo far upon them, they taught them to believe, that the being buried near the relics of ſome famous ſaint would promote the happineſs of their ſoul, and this privilege was not to be obtained without a conſiderable ſum of money, or very rich preſents. They alſo exhorted them to build monaſteries, or at their death to leave their poſſeſſions for the benefit of religious houſes, which they pretended was the ſureſt method of obtaining pardon for their ſins, and ſecuring themſelves places in heaven *. The prieſts were alſo continually talking of the end of the world and the day of judgment, which they repreſented as near at hand †, and at the ſame time they told their rich and opulent auditors, that what they gave to the monaſteries contributed greatly to their future welfare in the other world, for by that means they obtained the prayers of the prieſts; hence aroſe the cuſtom of bequeathing money to monaſteries and churches, that the monks might make prayers for the good of the donor's ſoul, which they imagined promoted its happineſs, and ſecured its repoſe ‡. It was alſo cuſtomary for the monks to grant to ſome rich man an eſtate, which he was to enjoy during his life, upon condition, that at his death that eſtate, and another of equal value belonging to the rich man, ſhould revert to the monaſtery to which the firſt eſtate belonged. By theſe and ſuch artifices, the clergy obtained ſome ſhare of the wealth or eſtates of almoſt every opulent man at his deceaſe, which continually increaſing, muſt have made them very rich. But their covetouſneſs augmented with their riches, and to ſuch lengths did they run in purſuit of wealth, that they were not aſhamed to make uſe of the moſt infamous arts and impoſitions to obtain it from the deluded laity, eſteeming even the groſſeſt frauds as highly meritorious, ſo that the church was thereby enriched; many proofs of this fact might be brought, but one may be ſufficient. Ætheric who was biſhop of Dorcheſter in the reign of king Cnut, piouſly made a Daniſh nobleman drunk, and whilſt he was in that ſtate, bought a fine eſtate of him for a mere trifle, and for this impious fraud the holy biſhop received great commendations, becauſe he gave the eſtate to the abbey of Ramſey. In ſhort, ſo much did the perſuaſions of the clergy prevail over the minds of the infatuated people, that before the end of this period they had more than one third of all the lands of England in their poſſeſſion, beſides tythes of all the reſt, and vaſt profuſions of wealth, in money, plate and jewels.

* Hiſt. Ramſien. p. 397.

† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 77.

‡ This they called giving a part of their eſtates to their *own ſouls*. Thus ſays Aſſerius.—King Æthelwulf, like a man of wiſdom, made a teſtament in writing, wherein he divided his eſtate between his children and *his own ſoul*, what he gave to his children need not be mentioned, but what he gave to *his ſoul* was as follows, &c. Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.

The

The native valour of the Anglo-Saxons, as well as that enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, was greatly diminiſhed during this period; the fondneſs for a monaſtic life was one of the cauſes of this change, by which, and the doctrine of Chriſtianity, their ferocity was abated, and they became more timid and peaceable. Their beſt hiſtorians inform us, that at their firſt arrival in Briton they were fierce, warlike and impetuous, but on their converſion to Chriſtianity, their valour declined by degrees, ſo that towards the concluſion of this æra, they are ſaid to have been far more eſteemable for their devotions, than their warlike diſpoſition *.

The valour of the Anglo-Saxons decreaſes.

It was this great decreaſe in valour, that facilitated the conqueſt of the Danes, who being Pagans, ſtill retained the ferocity of their natural tempers, and proved at laſt ſo greatly ſuperior to the Anglo-Saxons in bravery and conduct, that the latter could hardly ever be prevailed upon to face them in the day of battle, though they might manifeſtly have the advantage †. The Danes made every poſſible advantage of the weakneſs and timidity of the Saxons, whom they treated with ſuch brutal inhumanity as can ſcarcely be credited, whilſt on the other hand the ſhameful and abject ſubmiſſion of the Saxons was little leſs extraordinary ‡.

The conqueſt of the Danes to what owing.

The Danes or inhabitants of Scandinavia (which comprehended the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway) were a people of a fierce intrepid ſpirit, and were very formidable at ſea, by the poſſeſſions of vaſt fleets, as well as upon land, by powerful armies; nor is it ſurprizing that they were ſuch excellent warriors, when we conſider the various cauſes that contributed to make them fond of a martial life. In the firſt place, their religon taught them to believe that Odin their great god delighted in war and bloodſhed, and that he beſtowed the higheſt rewards upon heroes, and ſuch as died with their ſwords in their hands, and received them after death into his palace, where they were to enjoy a continual ſucceſſion of happineſs and content: and this belief inſpired them with a contempt for life. In the ſecond place, their education was conducive to the ſame end, many of them were born in their fleets or camps, and trained up from their infancy in continual ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, and as ſoon

Character of the Danes.

* W. Malmſ. lib. 3. cap. 1.

† "How long (ſays an ancient author who lived in the reign of king Æthelred the ſecond) is it ſince the Engliſh obtained a victory over the Danes, thoſe pirates are now become ſo bold, that one puts ten and ſometimes more to flight! — How often do two or three troops of Danes drive the Engliſh army from ſea to ſea, to our eternal ſhame!—But ſo abject are we become, as to worſhip thoſe, who trample on us with indignity." Then he proceeds to mention ſome horrid ſubmiſſions of the Anglo-Saxons too ſhameful to be inſerted here. Sermo Lupi Epiſ. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 103.

‡ To ſuch a length was it carried, that as ſome have declared, when an Engliſhman met a Dane upon a bridge, or in a narrow path where he could not avoid him, as ſoon as he ſaw him, he uncovered his head, and ſtood in a bowing poſture till the Dane paſſed him and was gone out of ſight. Pontopiden Geſta et Veſt Dan. 1, 2. &c.

as they could weild the ſword, they were taught the uſe of it. In the third place, the uncultivated ſtate of their country made piratical expeditions abſolutely neceſſary; hence valour and bravery were the only ſteps to riches and honour *.

Their daring behaviour in battle.

The Danes were bold and audacious in their attacks, conſidering but little the ſuperiority of the enemy in numbers; and indeed one of their martial laws impoſed, that every man who would acquire the character of a brave warrior, ſhould always attack two enemies, to ſtand firm againſt three, to retire only a pace from four, and to fly from no leſs than five †: indeed there are many inſtances of wonderful actions performed by ſome of theſe northern heroes, but perhaps none more ſtriking than that which happened at the battle which Harold the ſecond fought againſt his brother Toſti, and the king of Norway at Stamford, October 24, A. D. 1066, where, after the Norwegians were obliged to retire, the purſuit of the Engliſh army was retarded for a long time by the deſperate reſiſtance of a ſingle Norwegian, who had poſted himſelf upon the bridge, where he maintained his footing, and ſlew with his battle-ax not leſs than forty ſoldiers of Harold's army, who attempted to force their way over, and would have reſiſted ſtill longer, if he had not been ſlain at laſt by a ſtratagem ‡. As the Danes were delighted with nothing more than to have their valour and martial accompliſhments extolled, ſo the calling them "Nithing §," which was a term of contempt, was an offence ſo aggravating, that nothing could poſſibly expiate but the blood of the offender §.

Cruelty of the Danes.

The Danes, from the nature of their education, and being conſtantly inured to ſights of blood and ſlaughter, were ſtrangers to every tender and humane idea, and the moſt ſhocking cruelties were practiſed by them as ſports and paſtimes. What a lamentable picture is drawn by hiſtorians of the diſtreſs and miſeries of the Engliſh during the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Danes, like inhuman ſavages, deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, involving whole towns and cities, with their wretched inhabitants, in the devouring flames, and thoſe who attempted to eſcape from their burning houſes, were cut to pieces with battle-axes! Nor could the cries and ſupplications of men, women and children, make the leaſt impreſſion upon the unrelenting hearts of theſe dreadful enemies: the moſt tempting bribes, and humbleſt offers of becoming ſlaves had no effect; all the places through which they paſſed exhibited ſo many horrid ſcenes of miſery and deſolation; venerable old men lay maſſacred before their own

* Northern Antiq. vol. I. Bartholin, &c.
† Bartholin de cauſa Contemp. a Dan. Mort. C. 7.
‡ W. Malmſ. lib. II. cap. 13.
§ This word ſignifies a daſtardly fellow.
¶ Northern Antiq. vol. I. p. 219.

doors;

doors; whole ſtreets were covered with mangled bodies of young men and children; matrons and virgins, being firſt publicly polluted, were alſo put to death *; nay, ſo totally were the wretched barbarians devoid of feeling, that it was a common paſtime amongſt them to tear the infants of the Engliſh from the breaſts of their mothers, and toſſing them up in the air, catch them upon their ſpears as they fell down †. In ſhort, the cruelty and inſolence of the Danes were ſo great, that their very name was odious and deteſtable to the Engliſh for many ages after they had ceaſed to oppreſs the land; inſomuch, that an imperious and haughty man, by way of contempt and deteſtation, was called a Lord Dane ‡.

Indeed, although the doctrine of Chriſtianity in ſome meaſure ſoftened the minds of theſe ferocious men, it was but by ſlow degrees; for the Danes, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, even at the end of the preſent period, may have many inſtances of cruelty and oppreſſion laid to their charge. What can be more ſhocking than the barbarity of earl Godwin, who, when he had ſeized upon prince Ælfred, the brother of Edward the Confeſſor, at Guilford, on his way to London, was not content with having the unfortunate prince in his power, but defeated and apprehended his guards, ſome of whom he impriſoned, ſome he ſold for ſlaves, others he maimed by cutting off their legs and arms, and others again he tortured by pulling the ſkins from their heads, and by various torments maſſacred ſix hundred men §. Inſtance of Godwin's cruelty.

Tyranny and oppreſſion among the rich and powerful are reckoned amongſt the vices of this period; in the reign of Æthelred the Second (at which time a kind of ariſtocracy took place) we are aſſured, that the poor and indigent were moſt cruelly treated; their perſons, and thoſe of their children, were frequently ſeized upon by force, and ſold for ſlaves; widows were unjuſtly compelled to marry, and if they refuſed they were cruelly oppreſſed, and reduced to miſery and want. In the after times, when the Godwin family had obtained ſuch influence in the kingdom, the ſons of that earl were guilty of the moſt flagrant outrages and oppreſſions, for if they ſaw any handſome eſtate, or country ſeat that pleaſed their fancy, they inſtantly gave orders to their attendants to murder the proprietor of it and his family by night, and then obtained the grant of it themſelves. Such were the men who, at that time, were judges and rulers in the land ‖. Tyranny and oppreſſion.

The Danes were fond of a violent death, and the chief cauſe of it was, their belief that the ſpirits of all who departed from this world The Danes fond of a violent death.

* J. Walingford apud Gale.

† Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 135. Vide plate IV. of this volume, which is the copy of an illumination in a MS. paraphraſe of the four goſpels, and ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut. This repreſents "*The murder of the Innocents*;" but, at the ſame time, exhibits a ſcene of that ſort of cruelty deſcribed above.

‡ H. Hunt.

§ S. Dunelm.

‖ Hunt. lib. 6.

in

in a violent manner, went immediately to the hall of Odin, where they were received by that god with the higheſt marks of approbation and eſteem *. Theſe expectations, joined with their natural ferocity and love of military fame, entirely eraſed from their boſoms the idea of fear, ſo that inſtead of groaning or complaining at the wounds they received in battle, or the approach of death, they expreſſed their joy by laughter and ſongs †. Thoſe who fought bravely, and fell with honour in the battle, were not lamented by their friends, becauſe it was eſteemed the higheſt felicity a man could arrive at to looſe his life in ſome great exploit. Siward, a Daniſh chief, who was earl of Northumberland during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, being told that his ſon was ſlain in battle, made earneſt enquiries if his wounds were received in the front of his body, or in his back, and being anſwered in the front, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, that his ſon had died worthy of his birth ‡.

Old age a diſhonour.

The Danes were frightened at the approach of old age, to prevent which, they frequently prevailed upon their friends to kill them, or ſlew themſelves. Dying in a natural way, or upon a bed, was highly diſtaſteful to them; and Siward, the Daniſh earl of Northumberland, mentioned above, though a Chriſtian, retained ſo much of the ancient manners of his anceſtors, that, when he found his end approaching in a natural way, he was extremely uneaſy, and lamented that he had eſcaped death in the many battles he had fought (for he was a great warrior) to die in a diſgraceful manner like a beaſt: he, therefore, entreated his friends to dreſs him in his armour, to put his helmet on his head, his ſhield upon his left arm, his battle-ax in the right, and to gird his ſword about him, that he might die at leaſt in the habit of a warrior, though he had not been ſo happy as to fall in battle §.

Piracies of the Danes.

The fondneſs of the Danes for pyratical expeditions is ſo notorious, that we need make but few remarks upon that ſubject in this place; and not only perſons of inferior rank were engaged in theſe expeditions, but even kings and princes, ſome of whom acquired ſuch vaſt wealth and fame, and ſuch ſtrong fleets, that they were called Sea Kings ‖.

Credulity and curioſity of the Saxons & Danes.

If the Anglo-Saxons, in the former age, were famous for their credulity, they certainly cannot be eſteemed leſs ſo in the preſent. Of this fact we need not produce any other proofs than the implicit faith they placed in the pretended miracles, and other ſhameful artifices made uſe of by the prieſts, many of them ſo groſs and abſurd that it ſeems ſcarcely poſſible that ſo much knavery ſhould be on the one ſide, and credulity upon the other. As they were credulous, ſo both

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1 & 2.
† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 206, 207, &c.
‡ H. Hunt. lib. 6.
§ Ibid. Vide Bartholin, &c.
‖ Vide Dr. Henry Hiſtory of Brit. vol. 2.

they

they and the Danes were equally curious, and desirous of prying into the secrets of futurity, which rendered them frequently the dupes of pretended fortune-tellers, who were chiefly of the female sex; and some of them were in high esteem with the great, and drew so much wealth from those who came to consult them, that they lived with splendor and magnificence equal to that of the greatest nobility, having numerous retinues constantly attending upon them *. These toothless propheteſſes (for they were almost always old women) were often invited to the courts of kings and princes, where they were received with the greatest respect and most profound civility, besides being well rewarded for the answers they returned to the questions that were put to them †.

Chastity was one of the chief virtues with which the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were endowed, and which, at their establishment in England, seems also to have been one of their great characteristics after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, in attempting to extend this virtue to a greater heighth than the law of nature would admit of, almost destroyed it; and the Danish soldiers, who in the reign of Æthelstan and his successors, were quartered in England, being idle, insolent and lustful, corrupted many of the Anglo-Saxon ladies by dressing better than the Englishmen ‡, so that towards the latter end of this period, chastity declined so fast that scarce any vestiges of its original purity were left. It is to this dissolution of manners that the clergy of that time impute the various woes that fell so heavy on the English nation §. Chastity.

We have already made some remarks upon the fondness of the Anglo-Saxons for their own relations, and how strenuously a whole family would revenge all affronts done to any individual of that family; for any person who offended one was instantly accounted an enemy to the whole, and not only the offender, but his relations also, though perfectly innocent, became equally the objects of vengeance to the injured party; because, though they had no hand in the crime, they protected the culprit; and this unjust vengeance was carried to such a length, as to render it absolutely necessary in the reign of king Edmund, the successor of Æthelstan, to make a law, forbidding that for the future the relations of a murderer should be obnoxious to the resentment of the friends of the deceased, but that the murderer alone should be the Fondness for relations.

* Bartholin mentions one of these old women named Heida, who was famous for her skill in divinations and magic. She frequented public entertainments, predicting weather, and telling fortunes, having constantly a train of thirty men and fifteen maid servants attendants upon her. Bartholin. lib. 3. cap. 4.

† Erick's Rauga Saga, apud Bartholin, p. 691.

‡ J. Walingford.

§ Sermo Lupi, apud Hickesii Disert. Epist.

object

object of their vengeance; and alſo, if any one ſhould avenge himſelf upon any other than the murderer, he ſhould forfeit all his goods, and be proſecuted as an enemy to the king. Another law alſo required, that all differences between any two clans or families ſhould be ſettled in an amicable manner*. However, towards the latter end of this period, among other depravities that crept into the ſtate in general, that of undutifulneſs and diſregard for relations was not the leaſt; for in the reign of Æthelred the Second, the Engliſh are accuſed of having as little love for their relations as ſtrangers: and it is further added, that the natural affection from parents to their children, and from children to the parents, and brothers to each other, were greatly diminiſhed †.

Vices of the Anglo-Saxons.

Murders and thefts were very frequent among the Anglo-Saxons; and perjury may be reckoned among one of the chief national vices‡: this latter might, in ſome meaſure, be owing to the vaſt number of oaths that were taken at this period, which greatly diminiſhed the ſolemnity of them, and the multitude of compurgators and witneſſes that were required; ſo that frequently, when a cauſe of great conſequence was brought before the magiſtrates for trial, the compurgators and witneſſes ſtood drawn up on either ſide, like two little armies, ready to ſwear whole vollies of oaths againſt each other§. Bribery was too frequently practiſed, eſpecially towards the concluſion of this period; and even Edward the Confeſſor, whoſe ſanctity is ſo much boaſted of by the monkiſh writers, is not aſhamed to own in an award, that a handſome bribe from one of the parties influenced his deciſion‖. Intemperance in eating and drinking at this period were prevailing vices, both among the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, of which the latter in particular were the moſt notorious. The vice of intemperance was common to the people of all ranks, in which they often ſpent whole days and nights without intermiſſion; and, indeed, all meetings, public or private, uſually terminated in rioting and exceſſive drinking, not even excepting¶ religious feſtivals, at which times it was uſual for them to drink large draughts in honour of Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, the twelve apoſtles, and other venerated ſaints**. In the reign of Eadgar the Peaceable, the vice of immoderate drinking (which our hiſtorians tell us, the Engliſh learned of the Danes) prevailed ſo greatly, that laws were found neceſſary to reform it; and that prince, to prevent quarrels that aroſe in public houſes from any one's drinking more than his ſhare, which it ſeems was very frequent, cauſed certain pegs or knobs to be put at proper diſtances into

* Leges Edmundi apud Wilkins.
† Sermo Lupi apud Hickeſ.
‡ Ibid.
§ Sometimes conſiſting of a thouſand. Hiſt. Elin. cap. 35.
‖ Hiſt. Ramſien. c. 113.
¶ W. Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 58.
** Bartholin, lib. 2. c. 12. Northern Antiq. vol. 1. cap. 12. p. 311.

each

each drinking cup, and no man was to drink beyond thoſe knobs at one draught under a ſevere penalty, which was alſo to be inflicted upon thoſe who ſhould compel others to drink beyond them *.

Reſpect for the fair ſex.

We have already taken notice that the Anglo-Saxons were famous for their reſpectful behaviour to the fair ſex, to whom they paid the greateſt regard. They were admitted into all great aſſemblies, and their opinions claimed every degree of attention: many of them were enrolled in the catalogue of ſaints, and became the objects of veneration. Various ſevere laws were alſo made to preſerve their perſons and honour from inſult †. It is true, that the higher claſs of ladies fell into ſome diſgrace occaſioned by the abandoned wickedneſs of Eadburge, who either through miſtake or deſign poiſoned her huſband Beorhtric ‡, king of the Weſt Saxons, which ſo highly exaſperated that people that they cauſed a law to be made, by which the wife of the king was deprived of all her honours, and even the title of queen §. But this law did not continue long in force, for the clergy expreſſed their higheſt diſlike to it, calling it a perverſe and deteſtable decree, and contrary to the cuſtoms of all the nations deſcended from the Germans. It was entirely aboliſhed by Æthelwulf, the ſon of Egbert, who married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France (about fifty-two years after its eſtabliſhment) and cauſed her to be placed upon his throne with all the honours that the queens preceding Eadburge had enjoyed ‖.

Cuſtoms relative to marriage.

The laws of the Anglo-Saxons, relative to marriage, we have already ſeen ¶; but in this place it may not be amiſs to take notice of the particular forms and ceremonies obſerved, when two people were married. The wedding was always celebrated at the expence of the bridegroom, and at his own houſe, and the day before the marriage was ſpent in feaſting and jollity with the bridegroom and ſuch friends as he invited to the wedding. The next morning, all thoſe friends being armed and mounted on horſeback, proceeded in great order to the reſidence of the bride (under the conduct of one who was called the foremoſt man **) and ſhe being delivered to them was brought back to the houſe of the bridegroom; this martial array was in honour of the bride, as well as to protect her from any attempts that her former lovers might make to ſeize upon her perſon. She was led by a matron called the brides-woman, and followed by a troop of young maidens who were called the brides-maids, attended alſo by the mundbora or guardian, with the reſt of her male relations. When ſhe reached the dwelling of her intended huſband, ſhe was received by him, to whom ſhe was inſtantly ſolemnly betrothed by her guardian. This ceremony

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 8.
† Willins Leg. Ang. Sax.
‡ Vol. 1. p. 119.
§ Aſſer. Annal.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Muratori, vol. 2. p. 111.
** ꝑoꝑe ꝑiꝛtaman.

being finiſhed, the bridegroom, bride, guardian and all their attendants, proceeded to the church attended by muſic, where the happy couple received the nuptial benediction from the prieſt. If the bride was a virgin, the benediction was performed under a veil, or ſquare piece of cloth, held before her by a tall man to conceal her bluſhes, but if the bride was a widow, the veil was thought unneceſſary *. The nuptial benediction being compleated, both bride and bridegroom were crowned with garlands of flowers, uſually kept in the church for that purpoſe †, and after all theſe ceremonies were finiſhed, the whole company returned to the bridegroom's houſe, where the nuptial feaſt was prepared, and the whole day was ſpent by the youth of either ſex, in mirth and dancing, whilſt the graver ſort, by way of amuſement, had recourſe to the liquor which was provided in great abundance. At night the women who attended upon the bride, conducted her to her chamber, where they undreſſed her and placed her in the marriage bed, which was no ſooner done, than the bridegroom was alſo brought in by the men, and when he was in bed, he, the bride, and all who were preſent, drank the marriage health, after which all the company retired ‡. The next morning the ſame parties came into the chamber of the new married couple, to hear the huſband declare what gift § he would beſtow upon his wife, when his relations became ſureties to thoſe of his wife, that he would perform what he then had promiſed. The feaſting continued for ſeveral days, till all the proviſions which had been provided were conſumed, and all the gueſts at their departure, made the bridegroom ſome preſent, in order to defray the extraordinary expences he had been at ‖.

Names and ſir-names.

Children, ſoon after their birth, were obliged by law to be baptiſed ¶, and names were conſtantly given them expreſſive of ſome virtue or good quality, which they wiſhed the child ſhould affect as he grew up, as Ælfred, which in our preſent language ſignifies all peace;—Alwyne, beloved by all;—Bede, prayer;—Æthelbald, noble and valiant;—Hewald, a ſupporter of equity, and the like. Several people of one name, living near each other, were diſtinguiſhed by a ſecond name being added, expreſſive of their perſons or manners; as, the Long, the Short, the Black, the Good, the Peaceable, the Bold, the Great, or elſe by the name of the place where the perſon lived, or even ſometimes by his

* Muratori, vol. II. p. 4.

† Olai Magni, p. 553.

‡ Here we may note that the wedding dreſſes of the bride, bridegroom, and three of each of their attendants were of a faſhion and colour peculiar to the ceremony, and might be only wore at that time; theſe dreſſes anciently belonged to the minſtrels who attended the wedding, but in later times they were given to ſome church or monaſtery. Stiernhook, lib. II. cap. I.

§ This gift was called Morgen-gife or *Morning-gift*, which became the property of the wife alone.

‖ Stiernhook ut ſup.

¶ Leges Inæ cap. II. apud Wilkins et Lambarde.

father's

father's name; but theſe ſirnames did not deſcend to the children and become family names, as was uſual after the Norman conqueſt; for that cuſtom moſt likely did not take place during this period, or if it did, it certainly was not until the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, who, it is true, introduced many Norman cuſtoms into England *.

Education. The education of the Anglo-Saxon youth conſiſted chiefly in inſtructing them in martial exerciſes and rural ſports, as hunting, hawking, and various athletic games, which contributed to the increaſe of their bodily ſtrength, and inured them from their infancy to endure fatigue; as to reading, or the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences, thoſe formed no part of the education of ſecular youth, the acquiſition of ſuch knowledge being held only neceſſary among thoſe who were deſigned for the church (and even by them it was frequently grievouſly neglected;) nor were princes of the royal blood, or the ſons of the greateſt noblemen any happier in this particular than thoſe of the meaneſt rank, for we are well aſſured that Ælfred the Great, at twelve years of age, had not been taught to diſtinguiſh one letter from another, though the greateſt care had been taken to make him maſter of the other branches of education, conſiſting of martial exerciſes and rural ſports †.

Cuſtoms in war. The Anglo-Saxons before their converſion to Chriſtianity, whenever they went to war, were accompanied by their prieſts, whoſe office it was to correct offenders in the army ‡, and alſo to pray for its ſucceſs; ſome veſtiges of this cuſtom ſtill remained after they had received the light of the goſpel, for though the Chriſtian prieſts appear to have been deprived of their authority in adminiſtring military correction, yet they continued to attend the armies in great numbers, to pray for its ſucceſs, and to render their prayers more efficacious, it was uſual for them to carry with them the moſt precious relics §. In like manner the Danes, who retained their idolatry much longer than the Anglo-Saxons, conſtantly ſacrificed to their gods, before they ſet out on an expedition, and after their converſion to Chriſtianity, a gang of theſe pirates being ready to ſet ſail with the deſign of robbing and murdering all they met, would firſt of all confeſs their ſins to the prieſt, perform ſuch penances as he ordered, and take the holy ſacrament at their departure, that God might favour their cruel and inhuman undertakings ‖.

Method of creating knights. The office of creating knights, at this period, belonged to the prieſt as well as to the king, and the manner in which the ceremony was performed was as follows. The evening before the day of conſecration, he that was to be made a knight went to the church, where having made full confeſſion of his ſins before the biſhop, abbot or prieſt

* Verſtegan, Camden's Remains, &c.
† Aſſerius Vita Ælfredi.
‡ Tacit de morib. Germ.
§ Hiſt. Ramſien, c. 72.
‖ Sax. Grammat. l. 14.

attending, and received abſolution for the ſame, he was to abide all night in prayer and pious devotion. On the morrow after he had heard divine ſervice, he was to offer his ſword upon the altar, which, when the prieſt had bleſſed upon the four goſpels, was hung about his neck, and the ceremony was finiſhed by a benediction from the prieſt *. When the king created a knight, there does not appear to have been ſo much form, for we are aſſured that Ælfred the Great, made Æthelſtan his grandſon (then a youth) a knight, by putting on his ſhoulders a ſoldier's cloak of ſcarlet, and girding round him a girdle ornamented with precious ſtones, from which was ſuſpended a Saxon ſword in a ſheath of gold †. After the Norman conqueſt, the prieſts were deprived of the power of creating knights, which was then ſolely veſted in the king.

Great retinues.

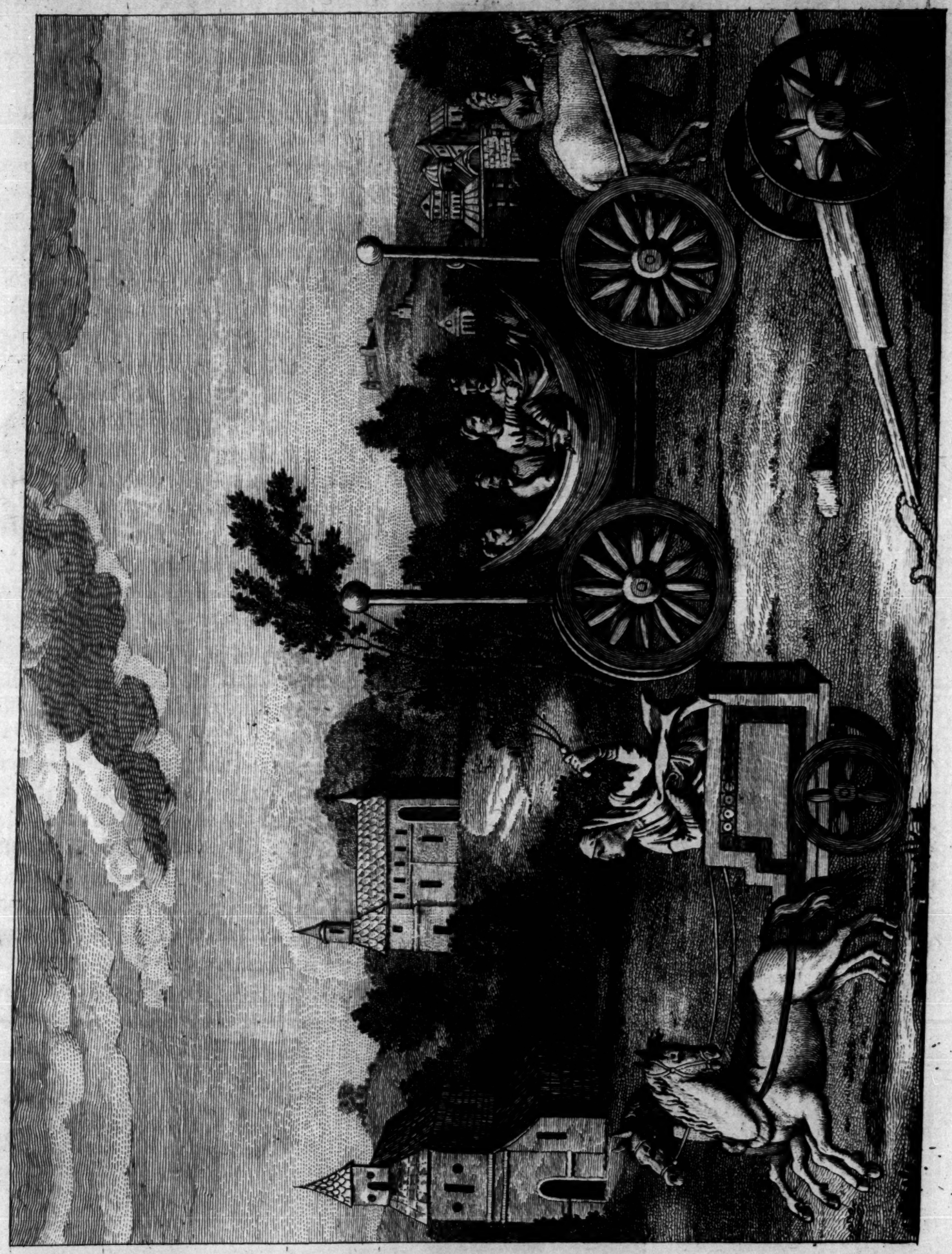
Great retinues were much affected by the Anglo-Saxon kings, who never ſtirred abroad without a conſiderable number of nobility, knights and dependants. Cnut the Great, who was the richeſt and moſt magnificent prince of his time in Europe, never appeared in public without a retinue of three thouſand men well mounted and completely armed; theſe attendants were called houſecarles, and formed a corps of body guards or houſhold troops, for the honour and ſafety of their prince ‡.

Wheel carriages.

The moſt common method of travelling amongſt the Anglo-Saxon nobility was on horſeback, though it is certain that chariots were not unknown to them even during the Heptarchy §. The form of thoſe carriages at that early period cannot ſo eaſily be known, but during the monarchy we meet with them delineated in the ancient manuſcripts, where they appear chiefly to be of two ſorts, the firſt only fit for the reception of one perſon, which in its ſhape is not at all unlike the light carts made uſe of by the farmers in the country at this preſent day; this carriage had only two wheels, and was drawn by two horſes abreaſt ‖.—The other was larger and more capacious; it was alſo drawn by two horſes abreaſt, though ſometimes they are ſeen with four horſes, which are then put two and two abreaſt. The body of the carriage conſiſts of a hammock ſuſpended by two hooks faſtened to upright poſts, one at the front, and the other at the back of the carriage; theſe ſort of carriages ſeem to have been made larger or ſmaller as occaſion required, for ſome of them contained only one perſon, and others five or ſix ¶. There is another kind of carriage much more ſimple than any of the former, which appears in the an-

* Ingulphus Hiſt. Croylandæ.
† Malmſb. lib. II. cap. VI.
‡ Sueno Agonis, p. 152.
§ Eddius in his life of Wilfrid, tells us, that the queen of Northumberland travelled "from place to place in her *chariot*." Vita Wilfridæ ap. Gale, cap. XXXIII.
‖ See plate XVIII.
¶ Ibid.

cient



cient delineations, conſiſting of a large long flat board made faſt on an axle-tree ſupported by two wheels. The driver ſtands upon this board to manage two horſes or oxen, which are put one on each ſide the pole, and faſtened with the chain that is there ſeen at the end of it *.

Domeſtic employments.

The Anglo-Saxons and the Danes appear to have had but few domeſtic employments to engage their attention, for which reaſon, when the ſtate was not at war, and the inclemency of the weather prevented their ſtirring abroad in purſuit of the rural ſports, their time was generally ſpent in idleneſs and intemperance. But the ladies, much to their credit, employed the chief of their time in managing the affairs of the family, appointing taſks to the ſervants, and what leiſure they could find was ſpent in ſpinning, weaving or working embroidery †. The Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes, conſidered the warm bath as one of the greateſt luxuries of life, and to frequent the bath at leaſt once a week was a neceſſary duty for thoſe to perform who wiſhed to ſecure the reſpect of the ladies; but if bathing in warm water was agreeable, the going into cold water was diſliked by them in the higheſt degree, for which cauſe the abſtaining from the former and practiſing the latter was frequently inflicted upon them by the way of a heavy penance ‡.

Their tables how ſpread.

We have already had occaſion more than once to remark how much the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes were inclined to intemperance §. Their tables were frequently ſpread and repleniſhed no leſs than four times a day. The table where they ſat at meat always appears covered with a cloth, even in the moſt ancient delineations; ſome few large diſhes are placed upon the table, and the perſons ſitting round it have conſtantly each of them a cup or horn, and ſometimes both. If the meat was roaſted, it appears to have been done upon ſmall ſpits, and in ſmall pieces, ſufficient only for one man; and it was brought to the table upon the ſpits, and preſented by the ſervants to the gueſts; to each man his ſpit, with meat, which he uſually cut off and eat on a plate ‖. Forks were entirely unknown at this period; and, in the manuſcript delineations, where tables ſpread for feaſting are repreſented, we ſeldom ſee above one or two knives; but the reaſon, without doubt, was, that each man uſually carried his own knife about him, which was called his handſecs, and ſerved him for a weapon of defence, as well as to carve his meat. The delineations of feaſts which appear in the Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, are, for the moſt part, ſo rudely done, that one cannot give ſo ſatisfactory an account of the diſhes as could be wiſhed. However, we frequently ſee the boar's head

* Ibid.

† See chap. VII. of this part of the Chronicle, and in this volume.

‡ Johnſon's Canons.

§ Vol. I. p. 359.

‖ See the firſt volume of the Þoþda Anzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, plate XVI. and the tapeſtry of Bayeux, in Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois, vol. 2.

dreſſed

dreſſed whole, ſet upon the table in a large diſh, and ſometimes fiſh and fowls *.

Order of ſitting at meat.

When they ſat down to table, each man might not take his place according to his own fancy, but according to his age, rank, or conſequence. By the court laws of king Cnut, all the nobility, and officers of his houſhold, that dined at court, were commanded to take their places according to their ranks, and thoſe of the ſame rank according to their ſeniority in office; and if any one took a higher place than belonged to him, he was degraded to the loweſt, and all the company were permitted to throw bones at him, without being guilty of rudeneſs, or liable to any challenge †.

Food of the Anglo-Saxons.

It will be hard to ſay what food the Anglo-Saxons moſt affected, unleſs it were veniſon, and the fleſh of boars, the head of which animal often formed a reſpectable part of their proviſion for the table; beef, mutton, pork, fiſh, and poultry of all kinds, doubtleſs furniſhed out the reſt. But, in general, we may conclude that their entertainments were rather remarkable for their abundance, than their delicacy and elegance. Salted proviſions of all kinds were provided at the royal banquets; and, at ſome tables, horſe-fleſh was held in eſteem, eſpecially among the Danes who inhabited Northumberland ‡. As to their cookery, we are ſo totally left in the dark that it will be impoſſible to add any thing more to the obſervations thereon in the former volume.

Liquors of the Anglo-Saxons.

Beſides the liquors which we have ſeen they affected, in the more early times, namely, ale and mead, the nobility (eſpecially towards the latter end of this period) had others very coſtly and delicious. In the time of Edward the Confeſſor, wine, pigment, morat and cyder, beſides the two above-named liquors, were provided for the royal banquets §. Wine, if made at all in England, at this period, was only in ſmall quantities; even mead was reckoned among the luxuries of life, ſo that it was not procured but by perſons of opulence. The pigment and morat were ſtill ſcarcer; the former in particular was ſo rich and delicious that it was commonly called the nectar of that age ‖. Ale was the commoneſt of all liquors, and in great eſteem as well among the Anglo-Saxons as the Danes, and, perhaps, the next was cyder, which, however, is not ſo often mentioned as the former.

Amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

From hence we ſhall paſs to the amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes at this period. A people, ſuch as we have found either

* See the firſt volume of the Þoþda Anzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, ut ſupra.

† Leges Curial. Reg. Cnuti apud Bartholin.

‡ Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 147. 151.

§ H. Hunt. lib. 6. p. 210.

‖ Pigment in Latin (*pigmentum*) was a ſweet odoriferous liquor, made of honey, wine and ſpices of all kinds.---Morat, in Latin (*moratum*) was made of honey diluted with juice of mulberries. Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc.

of

of them to be, little inclined to the ſtudy of ſcience, or fond of domeſtic labours, muſt conſequently find a large portion of their time hang heavy upon their hands, which doubtleſs ſoon led them to contrive ſome methods of amuſing themſelves; and their amuſements were chiefly three: martial exerciſes, rural ſports, and domeſtic games.

Martial exerciſes.

War being the employment both of the Saxons and the Danes, the chief of their amuſements conſiſted in athletic exerciſes, as running, ſwimming, leaping, riding, wreſtling and fighting, all which tended to improve their bodily ſtrength, and accuſtom them betimes to warlike purſuits, and to endure the fatigues attendant upon them. Martial exerciſes, and mock fights, were ſo delightful to the Danes that they conceived them to be the chief diverſions they ſhould enjoy in a future ſtate when their ſouls were received by Odin into his ſeat of glory *; and theſe martial games were the origin of the tournaments which were ſo frequent, and ſo famous in the ſucceeding ages. Horſe-racing is ſuppoſed to have formed a part of the amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons; for ſeveral running horſes † were ſent as a preſent to king Æthelſtan by Hugh, king of France, adorned with trappings, and having bits of gold in their mouths.

Sports of the field.

The ſports of the field were chiefly hunting and hawking, which were conſidered as two of the moſt material branches in the education of the young nobility, and a thorough ſkill in them the greateſt accompliſhment kings or great men could poſſeſs. Ælfred the Great is highly extolled for his ſuperior knowledge in theſe amuſements ‡, and Edward the Confeſſor was ſo fond of them that he purſued them every day without intermiſſion §. In the ancient delineations, hawks are frequently put upon the hands of noblemen to ſhew their rank. Princes and nobles were ſo fond of theſe birds, that they carried them with them long journies, and even into battle; for indeed it was reckoned diſhonourable for a nobleman to reſign his hawk, which was a token of ſubmiſſion and homage. Hunting dogs were alſo very favourite companions of the nobility at this period ‖.

Foreſt laws.

In the reign of king Cnut ſeveral laws relative to game were enacted, appointing a certain number of magiſtrates in every county to puniſh all offences committed in the royal foreſts; under theſe were inferior officers, or game-keepers, whoſe place was to apprehend all guilty perſons. Thanes, biſhops and abbots were permitted to hunt in the royal chaſes, but the penalties were very ſevere which reſtrained unqualified perſons not only from hunting, but even diſturbing of the game. If a gentleman or inferior thane killed a ſtag in the king's foreſt, he was degraded, and deprived of his arms; if a ceorl killed one

* See page 166 of this volume.
† *Equos Curſores*, Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.
‡ Aſſer. vita Ælfredi.
§ Malmſb. l. 2. c. 13.
‖ Vide tapeſtry of Bayeux, apud Monfaucon, t. 2.

he

he was reduced to ſlavery; and if a ſlave killed one, he was to ſuffer death for his crime. However, theſe laws confirmed the right of all proprietors of land to hunt in their own grounds, but they were not to purſue the game into the royal chaſes *.

Domeſticgames When the intemperance of the ſeaſon prevented them from following the above-mentioned amuſements, the time was uſually paſſed in feaſting, drinking, or playing at ſome domeſtic game; and the chief of theſe were the games of chance. Their immoderate paſſion for dice we have already ſeen in the former volume; and to what lengths they ran, ſtaking upon a throw the hazard of their lives and liberties †; and there is good reaſon to think that in the preſent period, a paſſion for games of chance was but little abated. The clergy were forbidden playing at them by the canons of the church; the laity however, the nobility in particular, would frequently ſpend the greater part of the nights in gaming; and this cuſtom was patronized by the encouragement and example of the greateſt princes ‡. It is ſaid that among the Danes, and other northern nations, it was cuſtomary when a gallant paid his addreſſes to a young lady, for the father to engage him in a game at cheſs or dice, in order to try his temper before he gave him an anſwer §. The chief games of chance were cheſs, dice and backgammon, which is ſaid to have been invented about this period ‖. Other amuſements were ſinging and dancing, in which the youth of both ſexes would engage. Their dancing ſeems to have conſiſted in feats of activity, and exhibiting difficult poſtures ¶. Another game, the knowledge of which added to the greatneſs of a hero's character, was throwing ſharp darts or daggers up into the air, and catching them as they fell ſo dexterouſly as not to cut their fingers. At other times they would play with balls and knives which they would catch alternately to the muſic of the violin **. They were undoubtedly acquainted with many other ſports, though the knowledge of them at preſent is loſt. To be active and ready in moſt of theſe amuſements was as neceſſary to compleat the character of a great hero, as it was to be brave and intrepid in battle. A northern hero boaſts of himſelf in the following terms. "I am maſter of nine accompliſhments: I play well at cheſs; I know how to engrave Runic letters; I am apt at my book; I know how to handle the tools of the ſmith; I traverſe the ſnow on ſcates of wood; I excell in ſhooting with the bow; I am

* Conſtitut. Cnut Reg. de Foreſt. apud Spelman Gloſſ. & Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 146.

† Vol. 1. p. 360.

‡ When biſhop Ætheric obtained admiſſion to king Cnut about midnight, upon ſome urgent buſineſs, he found the king engaged with his courtiers, ſome playing at dice, and ſome at cheſs. Hiſt. Ram. c. 85.

§ Olai Magni, p. 572.

‖ It was invented in Wales, and derives its name from two Welſh words *back* (*little*) and *cammon* (*battle*). Dr. Hen. Brit. vol. 2.

¶ See plate XVII. fig. 2.

** Ibid. fig. 1.

expert

expert in the management of the oar; I ſing to the harp; and I compoſe verſes *." And in the ancient chronicles of Norway, king Olaf Fryggeſon's character is drawn in the following ſtriking manner.—"He was ſtronger and more nimble than any man of his time; he would climb the rock Smalſerhorn, and fix his ſhield on the top of it; he would walk without the boat on the oars whilſt the men were rowing; he would play with three darts at once, toſſing them up in the air, and always keeping two up whilſt one was down in his hand; he could uſe his weapons with both hands, and throw two javelins at once; he excelled all men in ſhooting with the bow, and in ſwimming had no equal †."

Charters, ſeals, &c.

In the ancient times, among the Anglo-Saxons, eſtates were given away, and confirmed to the receiver without any writing; the donor giving with ſuch ſuch eſtates a ſword, a helmet, or any other trifling matter, as a drinking-horn, a bow, a ſpur, an arrow, a quill, a curry-comb; but when their charters were confirmed by writing, the donor ſigned his name with a croſs by the ſide of it, in the preſence of ſome reſpectable witneſſes, who alſo ſigned it at the ſame time ‡. Edward the Confeſſor was the firſt that introduced ſeals of wax, which were afterwards added to the charters; a cuſtom that became very common after the Norman conqueſt §.

Funeral ceremonies.

We have already ſeen that it was common with the Germans in the moſt ancient times to burn the bodies of their dead, and when this cuſtom ſubſided, the body was laid upon the ground, and a large heap or mount of earth was raiſed over it ‖; this among the Danes was called the age of burying ¶, and was adopted by them before their converſion to Chriſtianity; for we are informed that when the Daniſh army found the body of Hubba their chief (who was ſlain in Dorſetſhire, A. D. 878, in a bloody battle fought there between the Danes and the Saxons) they raiſed a large mount over it, at the ſame time making loud cries and exclamations **. This cuſtom of raiſing mounts over the bodies of the dead had been ſo prevalent among the Northern nations, that on their converſion to Chriſtianity, it was not totally aboliſhed, for they continued to lay them upon the ſurface of the ground, and covered them over with earth and ſtones, and this even when they were buried in churches, the floors of which were frequently ſo incumbered by them as to have rendered them unfit for divine ſervice, and on that account they were abandoned; but this in-

* Olai Wormii Lit. Run. p. 129. Barthol. p. 420.

† Pontoppidan's Hiſt. Norway, p. 248.

‡ Ingulphus Hiſt. Croylandæ.

§ See the great ſeal of Edward the Confeſſor, plate II. of this volume.

‖ Vol. 1. p. 358.

¶ Olai Worm. Dan. Monum. p. 40.

** John Brompton, in Vita Ælfredi.

convenience ſoon became an object of great concern; canons therefore were made, to forbid any perſon whatever being buried in the churches, except ſaints, prieſts, and ſuch noblemen as could pay largely for that privilege, and even thoſe were obliged to be laid in a grave of a proper depth below the pavement *.

Corps how prepared for burial.

The corps of a deceaſed perſon was firſt waſhed with fair water, and then clothed in a cloſe white garment, or elſe put into a bag or ſack of linen, it was afterwards wrapped round from head to foot with a wrapper of coloured cloth, but it was cuſtomary to leave the head and ſhoulders of the corps uncovered with the wrapper till the time of burial, that his friends, and particular acquaintance, might take a farewell view of him, before he was committed to the ground †. When the day appointed for the burial was come, the corps (the head being firſt entirely covered with the wrapper) was conveyed to the tomb, when two perſons took hold of it, one at the head and the other at the feet, whilſt the prieſt or his attendant cenſed it with incenſe, after which they kneeled down and depoſited it in the grave, whilſt the prieſt concluded the ceremony with prayers and benedictions ‡.

Corps of great men, how treated.

The bodies of kings, noblemen, and the ſuperior clergy, were treated according to their rank with much more ceremony; the corps of Wilfrid, archbiſhop of York, who died A. D. 708, was laid on the ground upon a ſurplice, and waſhed by the abbot of Rippon and the monks with their own hands. It was afterwards dreſſed in the pontifical robes, and was carried in a ſolemn manner towards the place appointed for his burial, with muſic and ſinging of pſalms; they had not proceeded far in this manner, before they ſtopped again, and ſet down the corps, over which they pitched a tent, and having uncloathed it, bathed it a ſecond time with pure water, and then dreſſed it in robes of fine linen, placed it upon a hearſe, and proceeded towards the monaſtery of Rippon, ſinging pſalms as before; as they approached the monaſtery, all the monks came out to meet it, bearing the holy relics, and, raiſing their voices, joined the reſt of the company in the pſalms and hymns that they were ſinging, and in this manner was the corps conducted into the body of the church, and there depoſited in a moſt ſolemn and honourable manner §.

* Wilkins Concil. tom. 1. p. 268. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 994.

† See the figure of a corps thus wrapped up, plate XV. fig. 9. taken from an ancient drawing,

‡ See plate XIX. of this volume, which repreſents a burial, taken alſo from an Anglo-Saxon MS. delineation.

§ Eddius Vita Wilfredi, eddit. a Gale, p. 89. See a very full account of the ancient burial ceremonies and monuments of the dead in England in the Þonda Anzelcynnan, or manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. 1. p. 51, &c.

The



The houſe in which a dead body lay, was, till the time of its interment, in a continual uproar, with feaſting, drinking, ſinging, dancing, and various other diverſions, which were a great expence to the family of the deceaſed, and ſometimes all the wealth that a dead man left behind him was expended upon theſe indecent and extravagant entertainments. This Heatheniſh cuſtom could not be removed by the reaſonable dictates of Chriſtianity, which required ſobriety and decency, for though it was diſcouraged by the canons of the church, yet it was ſo agreeable to the ideas of the people in general, that they could rarely be prevailed upon to aboliſh it*. Feaſting at a perſon's deceaſe.

* Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 957. can. 3.

END OF THE THIRD PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

A MAP of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1

56 55 54 53 52 51 50

CUMBRA LAND
WEST MORINGA LAND
Bernicia
NORTHAN HUMBRARIC
MYRC
GWINED BRIT
WEALAS POWIS
NA DEHFUB ART H
SAX ON
EAST ANGLIA RIC
SUTH SAX RIC
EAST AX ON ARIC
CAN TA RIC
FRONCLOND

Brunanburh
Lindisfarena
Bebbanburg
Ealnrie
Care
Picts Weall
Tinmuth
Weranmuth
Dunholm
Streonsheal
Ilripum
Streanburg
Deira
Heamburg
Esforwic
Beverlac
Manigceaster
Donaceaster
MON
Legeceaster
Deorby
Lindcolan
Snotingaham
Stratford
Licetfild
Wegereceaster
Sliowaford
Wealsingham
Deorham
Elig
Theotford
Northwic
Manigcaister
Legercaister
Watlingastrat
Northamptun
Grantecaester
S. Eadmundesbyrig
Wingingamire
Coventre
Cotinghame
Huntadon
Bedanaford
Tensford
Suthberig
Gypswic
Foreceaster
Dunstaple
Colnecaester
Herewic
Ireingafield
Buccingaham
Witham
Meresige
Gleawancaster
Heortford
Mealdune
S. Albanes
Cyrenceaster
Oxenford
Marlborig
Beamfleot
Lundune
Badanceaster
Wiltun
Lyngestun
Tenet
Pedridanmuth
Wetmor
Cyppingham
Silcester
Fearnham
Aclea
Tonbriege
Dofre
Portloca
Bradenford
Wintanceaster
Colcestan
Beamdune
Stamertun
Ellandune
Hamtun
Andredesweald
Gridiantun
Gillingham
Baddanbyrig
Acanminster
Carrum
Winburnamynster
Wareham
Exanceaster
Exa muth
Portesmuth
Portland
Cornwealas
Hengestesdune
Gafulford
Wigan beorch
Iteanford
Tarundel
Tæstingas
Andredesceaster
Lymene muth
Eastenglond

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A Map of England, as it was divided by the Saxons, during the Heptarchy *.

THAT the readers may the better underſtand the Hiſtorical Part of this Chronicle, relative to the ſettlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and the events that took place from that time to the Norman conqueſt, it has been thought neceſſary to add the preſent map of the kingdom, as it was divided amongſt that people. Though the names of the places upon the map are ſpelled agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon language, yet they are written in the modern character; becauſe the Saxon letters may not be intelligible to many of our readers; and the Saxon names are explained in the following liſt, by which they may be eaſily referred to.

Anglo-Saxon.	Modern.	Anglo-Saxon.	Modern.
Aacanminſter	*Axminſter, Devonſh*	Carrum	*Charmouth, Dorſet.*
Aclea	*Okeley, Surry*	Cerdicsford	*Near Gt Yarmouth*
St. Albanes	*St. Albans, Herts.*	Ciſſanceaſter	*Chicheſter, Suſſex*
Ambreſbyrig	*Ambreſbury, Wilts*	Ceolſey	*in Suſſex*
Andredſweald	*Weald, Kent*	Colneceaſter	*Colcheſter, Eſſex*
Apuldre	*Appledore, ibid.*	Cornwealles	*Cornwall*
Badenbyrig	*Badbury, Dorſet*	Coſham	*Wilts*
Badenceaſter	*Bath, Somerſet.*	Cottingham	*in Northamptonſh.*
Beamdune	*Bampton, Devon.*	Coventre	*in Warwickſhire*
Beamfleot	*Bemflet, Eſſex*	Cridiantum	*Kirton, Devon.*
Beddanburg	*Bambury, Northum*	Cyngeſtun	*Kingſton, Surrey*
Bedanaford	*Bedford*	Cyppingham	*Chippenham, Wilts*
Bernitia	*North Weſt part of Northumberland*	Cyrenceaſter	*Cirenceſter, Gloceſt.*
		Cumbraland	*Cumberland*
Beverlac	*Beverly, Yorkſhire*	Deira	*South Eaſt part of Northumberland*
Brentford	*Middleſex*		
Brichthelmſtun	*Brighthelmſtone, Suſſex*	Deorby	*Derby, Derbyſhire*
		Deorham	*Durham, Gloceſt.*
Brigſtow	*Briſtow, Somerſet.*	———	*Dereham, Norfolk*
Brunanburh	*not certainly known*	Dofre	*Dover, Kent*
Buccingham	*Buckingham*	Doncaſter	*in Yorkſhire*
Cære	*Carehouſe, Northumberland*	Dunholm	*Durham*
		Dunſtable	*in Bedfordſhire*
Cant'esburh	*Canterbury, Kent*	Eadmundeſbyrig	*S. Edmundſbury, Suf*

* See plate XX. of this volume.

Ealnric

ANGLO-SAXON.	MODERN.
Ealnric	*Alnwic, Northumb.*
Earundel	*Arundel, Suſſex*
EaſtAnglia Ric	*Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles*
EaſtSaxonaRic	*Kingdom of the E. Saxons.*
Eaſtoneſs	*in Norfolk*
Elig	*Iſle of Ely, Cambr.*
Ellandune	*Wilton, Wilts*
Eoferwic	*York*
Examuth	*Mouth of river Exe*
Exanceaſter	*Exeter, Devon.*
Fearnham	*Fearnham, Kent*
Fleamburg	*Hamborough Head, Yorkſhire*
Folceſtan	*Folkſton, Kent*
Fulingham	*Fulham, Middleſex*
Gafulford	*Camelford, Cornw.*
Gillingham	*in Dorſet*
Gleawanceaſter	*Gloceſter*
Grantceaſter	*Cambridge*
Gypſwic	*Ipſwich, Suffolk*
Hamtun	*Southampton*
Haſtingas	*Haſtings, Suſſex*
Hengeſdune	*Hengſtonhill, Cornwall*
Heortford	*Hertford*
Herewic	*Harwich, Eſſex*
Hlidaford	*Lidford, Devon.*
Hripun	*Rippon, Yorkſhire*
Hrofeceaſter	*Rocheſter, Kent*
Humbermuth	*Mouth of ye Humber*
Huntadun	*Huntington*
Ircingafield	*Archinfield, Herefordſhire.*
Lægeceaſter	*Weſt Cheſter, Cheſh.*
Legercaiſter	*Leiceſter*
Licetfield	*Litchfield, Staffordſ*
Limenemuth	*Mouth of the Lime*
Lindeolan	*Lincoln*
Lindisfearna	*Holy Iſland*
Lundune	*London*
Mœrlborig	*Marlbro', Wilts*
Maidſtan	*Maidſtone, Kent*
Manigceaſter	*Mancheſter, Lanc.*
Mealdune	*Maldon, Eſſex*

ANGLO-SAXON.	MODERN.
Mereſige	*Merſey Iſland, Eſſex*
Myrcna Ric	*Kingdom of Mercia*
Northamtun	*Northampton*
Northanhumbra Ric	*Kingdom of Northumberland*
Northwic	*Norwich, Norfolk*
Oxenford	*Oxford*
Pedridamuth	*Mouth of ye Pendrid*
Porteſmuth	*Portſmouth, Hants*
Portland	*in Dorſet*
Portloca	*Portlockbay, Somerſetſhire*
Raculf	*Raculver, Kent*
Sandwic	*Sandwich, ibid.*
Sceapige	*Sheepy Iſland, ibid.*
Silceaſter	*Silcheſter, Hants*
Sliowaford	*Sleaford, Lincolnſh*
Snotingham	*Nottingham*
Strætford	*Stratford, Warwick*
Streonſheal	*Whitbay, Yorkſhire*
Sumertun	*Somerton, Somerſetſ.*
Suthberig	*Sudbury, Suffolk*
SuthSaxonaRic	*Kingdom of the South Saxons*
Temsford	*in Bedfordſhire*
Tenet	*Iſle of Thanet, Kent*
Thetford	*in Suffolk*
Tinmuth	*Mouth of the Tine*
Tonebriege	*Tunbridge, Kent*
Toreceaſter	*Toceſter, Northamp*
Wærham	*Warham, Dorſet*
Wealſingham	*Walſingham, Norf.*
Wegereceaſter	*Worceſter*
Weramuth	*Mouth of the Were*
Weſtmoringland	*Weſtmoreland*
Weſt Saxona Ric	*Kingdom of the W. Saxons*
Wetmor	*Wedmor, Somerſetſh*
Whitland	*Iſle of Wight*
Wiltun	*Wilton, Wiltſhire*
Winburnminſter	*in Dorſet*
Winganbeorch	*Careſbrook Caſtle*
Wingingamere	*not certainly known*
Wintanceaſter	*Wincheſter, Hants*
Wipedesfleot	*Wippedsfleet, Kent*
Witham	*in Eſſex*

No. 2.

Specimens of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

BECAUSE it is ſuppoſed that many of the readers of this work may be unacquainted with ſome of the Anglo-Saxon letters, which differ conſiderably from thoſe in preſent uſe, to enable them therefore to underſtand the following ſpecimens, the Saxon Alphabet is herein given.

LARGE SAXON LETTERS.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z
Power A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z

SMALL SAXON LETTERS.

a b c ð e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t u p x ẏ z
Power a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t u w x y z

DIPTHONGS and ABBREVIATIONS.

Æ æ Đ ð þ ꝥ ƿ
Æ æ Th th th and that

Extract from an ancient MS. of the four goſpels, written by S. Ealdfrith, at the command of S. Cuthbert towards the latter end of the ſeventh century *.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

fader uren ðu arð in heofnum, ſie gehalgud noma ðin to
Father our thou art in heaven, be hallowed name thine to
cymeð ric ðin ſie pillo ðin ſuæ is in heofne ⁊ in
come kingdom thine be will thine as is in heaven and in
eorðo hlaf urune ofen dæghuilic ſel us todæg ⁊ forgef
earth bread our over ſubſtantial give us to day and forgive
us ſcylda urna ſuæ ue forgefon ſcyldgum urum ⁊ ne
us debts ours ſo we forgive debtors our and neither
anlæd' uric in coſtunge uh gefrig uric from yfle.
inlead us each into temptation but deliver us each from evil.

* This MS. is in the Cotton Lib. at the Britiſh Muſæum, and is marked Nero D. IV.

Part

Part of the First Chapter of St. John.

In ꝼꝛuma væꝛ uoꝛd ⁊ uoꝛd ꝥ ıꝛ ȝoddeꝛ ꝛunu
In the beginning was the word and the word that is God's Son
væꝛ miđ ȝod ꝼeđeꝛ ⁊ ȝod uæꝛ uoꝛd đıꝛ pæꝛ ın
was with God the father and God was the word this was in
ꝼꝛuma miđ ȝod alle đeꝛꝛ hıne
the beginning with God all [things] through [or by] him
auoꝛđen ꝛınt ⁊ buta ꝥım ȝeuoꝛđen ıꝛ noꝛꝥ ꝥ avoꝛđen
made were, and without him made is nought that made
væꝛ ın ꝥım t ın đæm lıꝼ pæꝛ ⁊ lıꝼ pæꝛ leꝛꝥ monna
was in him, or in them, life was, and life was the light of men,
⁊ leꝛꝥ ın ꝥıoꝛꝛꝥꝛym ȝeꝛıneđ ⁊ đıoꝛꝛꝥo ꝥıa ne ꝼꝛom-
and the light in darkneſs ſhineth and the darkneſs it not com-
nomon pæꝛ monn ȝeꝛenda ꝼꝛom ȝode đæm noma pæꝛ
prehendeth was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was
John đeꝛ cuom in cẏđneꝛe ꝥ tæ vıttneꝛꝛe ꝥ
John, this [man] came in teſtimony, that is to witneſs that
cẏđneꝛe đeꝛꝛ ȝetꝛẏmmede oꝼ leꝛꝥ ꝥte alle
teſtimony thereby might be made of the light that all [might]
ȝeleꝼđon đeꝛꝛ ꝥıne [t đone ılca] ne væꝛ ꝥet đe ılca
believe through him (or that ſame) nor was he that ſame
leꝛꝥ aꝛ ꝥte cẏꝥnıꝛe ȝetꝛẏmmede ꝼꝛom leꝛꝥ væꝛ
light, but that teſtimony might be made from the light, was
leꝛꝥ ꝛođ đıu ınlıꝥteđ ælc t eȝꝥvelc monno cẏmmende
light pure that enlighteneth all or every man coming
in mıddan.
into the world.

Extract from a MS. in the Anglo-Saxon language, containing the Books of Geneſis, Exodus, &c. ſuppoſed to have been written towards the latter end of the eighth century *.

Part of the Firſt Chapter of Geneſis.

On anȝẏnne ȝeꝛꝛceop ȝoð ꝥeoꝛꝼanam ⁊ eoꝛđan ꝛe eoꝛđe
In the beginning created God heaven and earth, the earth
ꝛoꝥlice pæꝛ ıdel ⁊ æmtı ⁊ peoꝛtꝛa pæꝛꝛon oꝼeꝛ ꝥæꝛe
truely was void and empty, and darkneſs was over that

* This MS. is alſo in the Cotton Lib. marked Claudius, B. 4.

nẏpelnẏꝛꝛe

ꝑypelnyꝛꝛe bꝛadnyꝛꝛe ⁊ ꝛodeꝛ ꝛaꝛt pæꝛ ꝛeꝿeꝛꝛod oꝿeꝛ
deep ſurface, and God's ſpirit was moving over
ꝑæteꝛu. God cꝛ̄da, ꝛeꝑuꝛþe leoht ⁊ leoht ꝑeaꝛð
the waters. God ſaid, be there made light, and light was
ꝛeꝑoꝛht. God ꝛeꝛeaþ ða ðæt hit ꝛod pæꝛ ⁊ he to dælde
made. God ſaw this that it good was; and he d'd divide
leoht ꝑꝛam ða ðyꝛtꝛum ⁊ het ðæt leoht dæꝛ ⁊ þa
the light from that darkneſs, and named that light day, and this
ðyꝛtꝛu niht. Ða pæꝛ ꝛeꝑoꝛden æꝿen ⁊ meꝛꝛan aꝛ. dæꝛ.
darkneſs night. Then was made, evening and morning, one day.
God cꝛæþ þa eꝿteꝛ ꝛeꝑuꝛþe nu ꝑæꝛtnyꝛ to middeꝛ
God ſaid then after, be there made now a bulwark between
þam pæteꝛum ⁊ to tꝛæme þa pæteꝛu ꝑꝛam þam pæteꝛum
thoſe waters, and to divide theſe waters from thoſe waters;
⁊ ꝛod ꝛeꝑoꝛhte ða ꝑaꝛtnyꝛꝛe ⁊ tꝛæmde ða pæteꝛu ða
and God made that bulwark, and divided theſe waters that
pæꝛon undeꝛ ðæꝛe ꝑaꝛtnyꝛꝛe ꝑꝛam ðam ðe peꝛon buꝑan ðeꝛe
were under that bulwark from thoſe that were above that
ꝑæꝛtnyꝛꝛe. hit pæꝛ ða ꝛþaꝛe don ⁊ ꝛod het ða ꝑæꝛnyꝛꝛe
bulwark. It was then ſo done, and God named that bulwark
heoꝛonam. ⁊ pæꝛ ða ꝛeꝛoꝛden æꝿen ⁊ meꝛꝛen oðeꝛ dæꝛ.
Heaven. And was then made, evening and morning, another day.

Extract from a MS. written in the tenth century*.

heꝛ ꝛ ꝛe ꝛeleaꝿa ⁊ ꝛebed ⁊ bletꝛunꝛ læꝿedun mannum
Here is the Belief and Prayer, and bleſſing, (for) lay men,
þe þ Leden ne cunnon. Pateꝛ noꝛtꝛa on Enꝛlce.
thoſe that Latin not know. Pater noſter in Engliſh.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

þu uꝛe ꝑæðeꝛ þe eaꝛt on heoꝛenum ðẏ þin nama ꝛehalꝛod
Thou our father that art in heaven, be thy name hallowed;
ꝛecume þin ꝛice ðẏ þin pilla ðꝛa ꝛꝛa on heoꝛenum ꝛꝛa
come thine kingdom; be thine will ſo as in heaven ſo
eac on eoꝛðan ꝛẏle uꝛ to dæꝛ uꝛne dæꝛhhꝛamlican hlaꝿ ⁊
alſo on earth; give us to day our daily bread, and
ꝿoꝛꝛẏꝿ uꝛ uꝛe ꝛẏltaꝛ ꝛꝛa ꝛꝛa pe ꝿoꝛꝛẏꝿað þam þe ꝓð uꝛ
forgive us our guilt ſo as we forgive them that with us
aꝛẏltaþ ⁊ ne læd þu na uꝛ on coꝛtnunꝛe ac
are guilty; and neither lead thou not us into temptation, but
alẏꝛ uꝛ ꝑꝛam ẏꝿele. ꝛẏ hit ꝛꝛa.
preſerve us from evil. Be it ſo.

* In the Cotton Lib. mark'd Cleopatra B. 13.

The BELIEF.

Ic ȝelẏfe on ȝod fæden ælmihtiȝne ſcẏppend heofenam ⁊
I believe in God, the father almighty, maker of heaven and
eorðan. ⁊ ic ȝelẏfe on hælend Criſt his ancennedan ſunnu
earth. And I believe in holy Chriſt, his only begotten ſon
uſne dryhten. Se fæſ ȝe eacnod of ðam halȝan ȝaſte. ⁊
our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, and
acenned of Marian ðam mædene. ȝeþropod undeſ ðam Pontiſcan
born of Mary the maiden, ſuffered under the Pontius
Pilate. on rode a hanȝen. he fæſ dead. ⁊ be bẏrȝed. ⁊
Pilate, on the croſs was hanged; he was dead and buried, and
he nẏþeſ aſtaþ to helle. ⁊ he aras of deaðe on ðam þriddan
he deſcended to hell; and he aroſe from death on the third
dæȝe. ⁊ he aſtaþ up to heofenum. ⁊ ſitt nu æt ſriþhan
day, and he aſcended up to heaven, and ſits now at the right hand
ȝoderſ ælmihtiȝeſ fæderſ. ða non he þile cuman to demenne
of God, almighty father; from thence he will come to judge
æȝðen ȝe ðam cucum. ȝe ðam deaðum. ⁊ ic ȝelẏfe on hone
both the living and thoſe dead. And I believe in the
halȝan ȝaſt. ⁊ ða halȝan ȝelaðunȝe. ⁊ halȝena ȝe mœnnẏſſe.
holy ghoſt, and the holy church, and the holy communion,
⁊ ſẏnna forȝifennẏſſe. ⁊ flæſcer æriſt ⁊ þ ece liſ.
and ſins forgiveneſs, and the fleſh ariſing, and the eternal life.
ſi hit ſpa.
Be it ſo.

The exordium of an Anglo-Saxon poem, as recorded by Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, compoſed by Cædman, an extraordinary poet. It here ſtands according to the Saxon verſion, as given by king Ælfred.

Nu pe ſceolan hefenrices — eorðan bearnum
heofon ricer peard — heofon to hofe
Metodes mihte — halig ſcẏppend
⁊ his mod ȝeðanc — pa middanȝ eard
peorc pul dom fæder — Mon Cẏnnes peard
ſpa he pundra ȝehpæs — Ece Dryhtne æfter teode
Ece dryhten orð on ſtealde — ſirum ſolðan
he œrest ſcop — ſrea ælmihtiȝ.

An

An attempt to render the ſenſe of this beautiful poem in Engliſh:

" Now ought we to praiſe the maker of the kingdom of heaven—the powerful creator, and his council, the glorious working father!—who firſt made the heaven:, as a roof to the ſons of men!—Holy creator! everlaſting lord, and keeper of mankind! The world was after made by thee, ſupreme almighty!"

Extract from a Paraphraſe of the Four Goſpels, in the Anglo-Daniſh language.—This book is ſaid formetly to have belonged to king Cnut.*

The LORD'S PRAYER paraphraſed.

Pateſ noſteſ ꝑadeſ ıſt uſa ꝑıꝺıo baꝺꝺno. Thu biſt an them
Pater noſter, Father art of us men. Thou art in the
heoheN himilo ꝑikie. quiniꝺ ſi thin namo uuoſꝺu ꝛi-
high heaven ruler. Cauſe that thine name in words be
huilicu. cume thin cꝺaꝑtiꝛa ꝑiki. uueſthe thin uuilleo oban
hallowed. Come thy powerful kingdom. Work thine will over
thera uueſold alle ſo ſamo on eſihu ſo than uppe iſt an tham
this world, all the ſame on earth as there above it is on the
hohon himilo ꝑikie. ꝛiþ uſ ꝺaꝛe ꝛihuilicef ꝺad ꝺꝛohtin
high heaven kingdom. Give us daily council, Lord,
thie ꝛuodo thina helega helpu endi alat uſ hebenef
thy good and thine holy help; and forgive us, O heaven's
manegaſo menn ſculdiſ alſo uuiodon mannon ꝺuan. ni
governor! all our debts alſo, as we forgive mens debts; neither
lat uſ ꝑaſledean letha uuihti ſo foſthan ıſo uuilleon ſo uui
let us be miſled by wicked perſons ſo forth to their will ſo we
muſꝺiꝛ ſind. ac hilp uſ uuihaſ allon ubilon ꝺaꝺeon.
ſeduced be, but help us againſt all evil deeds.

* This MS. is in the Cotton Library, mark'd Caligula, A. VII.

No. 3.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

I. KING Æadgar, from an ancient delineation in an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Cotton Library, written at the end of the ninth century *.

II. The Great Seal of Edward the Confeſſor, taken from Speed †.

III. A portrait of the famous Saint Dunſtan, archbiſhoſhip of Canterbury, taken from a MS. in the Cotton Library ‡, which, from the appearance of the hand, muſt have been written, during his life time, or, very ſoon after his death. The two figures in white, kneeling at his feet, I take to be Ethelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, his great aſſiſtants againſt the married clergy; and the other in black, is probably the monk who was at the pains to make the drawing. In the copartments above we read Dunſt-ni, archie-piſcopi—[portrait] *of Dunſtan, archbiſhop*.

IV. Daniſh ſoldiers.—The murder of the Innocents is here repreſented; and this drawing is found in a MS. paraphraſe of the Four Goſpels, ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut. This book is alſo in the Cotton Library §.

V. Repreſentation of a farm yard, with the implements of huſbandry. The plough, ſcythe, ſickle, and cart, on the left hand ſide, are from an old Cottonian MS ‖. The harrow is from the tapeſtry of Bayeux ¶. The cart, with the man in it, driving it, and the ſpade, are from another MS. in the Cotton Library **. The houſe, and the reſt of the back ground, are chiefly fancy.

VI. A ſhip and row-galley from a MS. in the Vatican Library, firſt copied by Bartolo ††.

VII. An ancient lantern, drawn from the original, at the Muſæum at Oxford.

VIII. Saxon pennies, No. 1. round the head we read ECGBERHT : REX. ✕. *Egberht king*; and, on the reverſe, OBA. MONETA, for *monetarius*, in Engliſh, *oba. moneyer*. This coin is of the Great Egbert who united the Heptarchy. No. 2. Round the head AEÐLVVLF. REX for *Æthelwulf king*. Here note the Ð always ſtands of *Th*, as does the letter D ſometimes without the croſs mark. On the reverſe, HVN. MONETA, *Hun. Moneyer*. No. 3. AEÐLBALD, REX *Æthelbald*,

* Marked Tiberius A. 3.
† Speed's Chronicle, p. 393.
‡ Claudius A. 3.
§ Caligula A. VII.
‖ Julius A. VI.
¶ Vide Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois, t. 1. ſub finem.
** Claudius B. IV.
†† This MS. is ſaid to be near 1000 years old.

King,

King. On the reverſe, REANMVN: MONETA, *Reanmun Moneyer.* No. 4. AEÐELBEARHT. REX; *Æthelbrygbt king*; on the reverſe, DEGBEARHT: MONETA. No. 5. AEÐELREO: REX. *Æthelred*; on the reverſe ELBERE—MONETA. No. 6. ÆLFRED: REX. on the reverſe, a monagram not well underſtood. No. 7. EADYYEARD: REX. *Eadweard*, or *Edward, king.* This is Edward the Elder, ſon of Ælfred; on the reverſe, HEREMOD. M. for *Monetarius*, or Moneyer. No. 8. ÆDLSTAN. REX, for *Æthelſtan*; on the reverſe ABERTEE: MO: EO: for Eoferwic, *York.* No. 9. EADMVND: REX. This is the firſt *Edmund*, brother to *Æthelſtan*; on the reverſe EREMHBART: MONETA. No. 10. EADRED. REX; on the reverſe SAYYRD MONE. No. 11. EADVIG: REX: on the reverſe HERIGER. MO. No. 12. EADGAR. REX. ANGLORVM. Eadgar, king of the Engliſh; on the reverſe LEOFSIG: MO: HAMT, Leofsig Moneyer, at South or North Hampton, which anciently were both called *Hamtun.* No. 13. EADPARD: REX. ANGLORVM. *Eadward.* Here note, the P upon Saxon coins uſually ſtands for W. on the reverſe WVLSTAN MO STANF. for *Stanford*, now *Stamford.* This coin is of Edward the Martyr. No. 14. ÆÐELRED: REX. ANGLOVM; on the reverſe, GOD PINE M=O. LVND: for *Lundun*, now *London.* This coin is of Æthelred the Second, commonly called the Unready.

IX. No. 1. ÆÐELRED: REX. ANG. on the reverſe ÆLWINE: MO: LVND. abbreviated for Monetarius Lunduni, *Moneyer at London:* this coin is of *Æthelred the Second.* No. 2. ÆDMVND: REX. ANGLORUM. on the reverſe TMDRED: MO. THEOT, Temdred, or Tamdred Moneyer at Thetford: this coin is of Eadmund, ſirnamed Ironſides. No. 3. CNVT: REX. on the reverſe SPERTINGOID: EOR, abbreviated, perhaps for *Eoferwic*, now *York.* No. 4. HAROLD: REX; on the reverſe BRVNVST: MO: DEOTF. *Moneyer at Thetford:* this is a coin of the firſt Harold, ſon of king Cnut. No. 5. HARDACNVT: on the reverſe LEOFSAN: ON: LVND. *London.* No. 6. EDPARD: REX. *Edward king:* on the reverſe, COVMVND: ON: STÆF: or Stafford. No. 7. EADPARD REX ANGLO, *Edward*, &c. on the reverſe, BRYNMIC: ON: LVN. *London.* Theſe two laſt coins are of Edward the Confeſſor. No. 8. HAROLD: REX. ANGL. on the reverſe, LEOFPINE ON. BRI for Bricgſtow, *Briſtol.* This coin is of the Second *Harold*, ſon of Godwine, earl of Kent. No. 9. ANLAF: CYNYNG, *Anlaf King*; on the reverſe ATHELFERD: MINETRIL. perhaps for monetarius *moneyer.* This is ſuppoſed to be a coin of Anlaf, ſon of Sithric, a Daniſh king of Northumberland, who occaſioned ſo much trouble to Æthelſtan. No. 10. VVLFREDI. ARCHIEPISCOP. *Vulfred Archbiſhop*; on the reverſe DOROVERNAE: CIVITATIS *of the city of Canterbury.* No. 11. CEOLNOTH: ARC: *Ceolnoth Archbiſhop*; on the reverſe HIORNMOD:

ORNMOD : MONET. or *Moneyer*. Theſe two ſpecimens of archiepiſcopal coins were thought ſufficient. No. 12. is one of the Peter Pence *; and the two following are ſticas, or braſs coins, ſtruck only in Northumberland. No. 13. EANRED : REX. on the reverſe MONNE, perhaps the Moneyer's name. No. 14. VIGMVNDI : A. *Wigimund archbiſhop* [of York]; on the reverſe HVNIA, perhaps the Moneyer's name. Note, All the coins upon theſe two plates, except the two laſt, are ſilver. To the kind aſſiſtance of Mr. Bartlet and Mr. John White of Newgate-ſtreet, the author is indebted for this compleat ſeries of the Anglo-Saxon coins of the monarchy.

X. Habits of the Anglo-Saxons. No. 1. An archbiſhop. 2. A biſhop. 3. A monk; 4, 5, 6. Perſons of diſtinction. No. 3. is from a MS. in the Archiepiſcopal Library at Lambeth. No. 1 & 2. from a MS. in the Cotton Library †. No. 4. from another MS. in the ſame library ‡; and No. 5 & 6, from the Cædman in the Bodleian Library at Oxford §.

XI. Habits of Anglo-Saxon noblemen and perſons of diſtinction. No. 1. 2. 4. 5, from a MS. in the Cotton Library ‖; 3 & 6, from another MS. in the ſame library ¶.

XII. Anglo-Saxon ladies, &c. No. 1. from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library **. No. 3. from another MS. in the ſame library ††. No. 4. the boys; and No. 6. are from another MS. alſo in the ſame library ‡‡. No. 2. from a MS. in the Lambeth Library §§; and No. 5. from the Cædman at Oxford ‖‖.

XIII. A map of the world, copied from an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library, written partly in Latin and partly in the Anglo-Saxon language, which by the hand appears to have been executed towards the latter end of the tenth century ¶¶. As the writing upon it will be unintelligible to the greater part of the readers, it is thought proper to explain it as well as we ſhall be able in this place; and that the part of the writing upon the map may be the more eaſily referred to, it is divided into twenty ſquares, which are deſcribed in ſucceſſive order one after the other, beginning at the left hand and paſſing to the right.

No. 1. Gentes XLIV. *forty-four nations*; flumen *a river*—*over the lion* hic abundant leones, *here are many lions*.

* The inſcription is SCI PETRI MONETA for Sancti Petri Moneta, St. Peter's money; on the reverſe, EBORA, CIV. pro Eboracenſis civitas, *the city of York*.
† Marked Vitellius, C. 3.
‡ Claudius B. IV.
§ Junius XI.
‖ Claudius, B. IV.
¶ Tiberius, B. V.
** Cleopatra, C. VIII.
†† Galba, A. XVIII.
‡‡ Claudius, B. IV.
§§ MS. of Aldhelm, de virginitate.
‖‖ Junius XI.
¶¶ Tiberius, B. V.

2. *A chain of mountains behind the lion, and over them is written* Taurini montes, *the Taurinian mountains—near the top* mons aureus, *the golden mountain*; India in qua ſunt gentes XLIV. *India, in which are* 44 *nations*; Fiſon flu. *Fiſon river*, Aracuſia.

3. *An iſland at the top whereon is written*, in Abrobanea x civtas bis in anno menſa ſuges, *in Abrobanea x cities, twice in a year they gather fruit*. Media, *Mede*; Nikvie (*perhaps for* Ninive) *Nineveh*; Perſidia, *Perſia*; Arabia, Syria; Eadmou, *perhaps for* Cadueni, *a people in the country of Coria in Leſſer Aſia*; Chaldea, Arabia Deſerto, *the Deſerts of Arabia*; Mons Sina, *Mount Sīna*.

4. Hic dicitur eſſe mons ſuper ardens, *here is ſaid to be a mountain burning at the top*; flumen Nila, *river Nile* *.

5. Mare Caſpiam, *the Caſpian ſea*; montes Armeniæ, *the Armenian mountains*; arca Noe, *Noah's ark*; Gog & Magog; *people of Scythia*, &c. Turcie, *perhaps Turchy*; Albanorum regio, *the kingdom of Albani in Scythia*; Armenia—Gryphorum gens, *people of Gryphon*; Colchorum provincia, *the province of Colchis*.

6. Meſopotamia—Hiberia—Babylonia, *Babylon*; Commigena, *part of Syria*; Ceſarea Philippi—Antiocha, *Antioch*; Vocuſa civitas, *the city of Vocuſa*; Bithinia.

7. Moabite, *the country of the Moabites*; mons Faſga, *mount Faſga*; mons Gulago, *mount Gulago*; dimidia trib. Manaſo, *the half tribe of Manaſſah*; Ruben *(the tribe of) Ruben*; Gad *(the tribe of) Gad*; trib. Dan *(the tribe of) Dan*; Effraim *(the tribe of) Ephraim*.

8. Egyptus Superior, *Upper Egypt*; Ethiopica Deſerta, *the Deſert of Ethiopia*; Philiſtea, *the land of the Philiſtines*.

9. Meotides paludes, *the marſhes of the Mæotides*; Tanac fluvium, *the river Tanac*; montes Ripori, *the Riporian mountains*; fluvium Ypatus, *the river Ypatus*. Naperfida—Meſina.

10. Mons Taurus, *mount Taurus*, Cappidocia; Iſacircia, *perhaps for* Ituceo, *or elſe the tribe of Iſacher*; tribus Zabulon, *the tribe of Zabulon*; Manaſa, *Manaſſah*; Tharſo, *Tarſus*, Cilicia; mons Olympus, *mount Olympus*; Aſia Minor, *Leſſer Aſia*, Epheſus; Troia, *Troy*; Conſtantinopulum, *Conſtantinople*; Attica, *part of Greece*.

11. Tribus Zabulon, *the tribe of Zebulon*; Galilea, *Galilee*; Jueri-cho, *Jericho*; Aſſer *(the tribe of) Aſher*; Aniclea, *perhaps Aſkelon*; Hieruſalem, *Jeruſalem*.

12. Ebron, *Hebron*; Pentapolis, *perhaps for Tripolis*; Bethlaem, *Bethleham*; Neptalin, *the tribe of Napthalum*; Alexandria, *a city in Egypt*; mons, *a mountain*, Anticlea—Libia Cirinania.—Lac. Calear-

* Note, That all the rivers or lakes, expreſſed by dots upon the plate, are red in the original delineation; and that part that comes upon the diviſion of the third and fourth ſquares, is intended for the Red Sea; and where it is divided at the bottom of the ſquare, is intended to ſhew the part the children of Iſrael paſſed over when they fled from Egypt.

ſum,

ſum, *the lake of Calearſum*; hic barbari gentes, *here is a barbarous people*; hic Ethiopos, *here the Ethiopians*; hic oberant gingitis & Ethiopos, *here wander about the Gengites and Ethiopians.*

13. Iſland *Iceland*; Scroduſinuas—Balgari—Dacia ubi & Gothia, *Dacia and Gothland*; Salacu—Sleſne—Thracia.

14. Hunorum gens, *the Huns*; Danubius fluvius, *the river Danube*; Dalmatia—Pannonia—Hiſtria, *vel Iſtria*; Athenas, *Athens*; Verona, Paccia, *perhaps for Padua*; Roma, *Rome.*

15. Macedonia; Salernaria, *Salernam, a city belonging to Naples*; Venacia, *Venice*; Cartago Magni, *the Greater Carthage.*

16. Pentapolis, *perhaps for* Penopolis, *a town in Egypt*; Sutes—Lacus Saliciarnus, *the lake of Saliciarnus*; Libia Ethiopium—Bizacena. Gentes Aucolum pertingente uſque ad oceanum, *the people of Aucolum, inhabiting even to the ſea.* Cinocephales. Cartago Magni, *the Greater Carthage.* Zugis regio, ipſa ē ec Africa a enim fortis, ſed anterior beſtiis, ec ſerpentibus plena amnis miſca (ſome part of this writing, perhaps, is worn away; for, as it ſtands at preſent, it is very difficult to be underſtood: however, the meaning of it may be as follows.) *This kingdom of Zugis, which is the ſtrongeſt in Africa; but the anterior part of it is full of beaſts, ſerpents and rivers.*

17. Britania, *Britain*; Hibernia, *Ireland*; Tyleri. The other writing is ſo much obliterated as not to be eaſily made out.

18. Lundonia, *London*; Wintona, *Wincheſter*; Cantia, *Kent*—Suthbryttas: Bartiminacus. Iſpania Anterior, *Spain Anterior*; Brigantia, *Portugal.*

19. VII. Montes, *ſeven mountains*; Heſperidum civit. *the city of Heſperides*; promontory, *a promontory.*

20. Mauritiania—fluvius Malva, *river Malva*; Dora—Mons Iſperac, *mount Iſperac.*

XIV. A curious ornamented page in an Anglo-Saxon Pſalter, preſerved in the Cotton Library *, written about the tenth century. The writing, which is part of the fifty-ſecond pſalm, is as follows, the top line only omitted, which ſeems to be imperfect. Cum venit Doech Judeus, & adnuntiavit Saul & dixit quia venit David de domo Abimalech.—Quid gloriaris in militia qui potens es in iniquitate? Tota die injuſtitiam cogitavit; lingua tua, ſicut novacula acuta, feciſti dolum.—The Saxon is: Hwæt wuldraſt thu on yfelneſſe hue ricf is unrichtwiſneſſe thote tuonge thin ſwa ſwa ſcyrfeax ſcearp thu dyde ſe facen. In Engliſh: *When Doeeg came to Judea, and told to Saul that David had left the houſe of Abimelech.—Why doſt thou glory in miſchief who art mighty in inquity? All the day thou imagineſt unrighteouſneſs; with thy tongue, like a ſharp razor, didſt thou work deceit.*

* Marked Tiberius, C. VI.

XV. Spe-

XV. Specimens of the art of deſign: No. 1. and No. 7. are two figures intended to repreſent our Bleſſed Saviour in his exalted ſtate; 2 and 3, figures whoſe habits are rather peculiar; 4. a woman; 5. an archer; 6. a ſoldier; 8. a woman armed, having a helmet on her head; 9. a dead corps in the uſual wrappings; 10 and 11. repreſent Abraham weighing out the money he paid to the ſons of Heth for the purchaſe of the field of Macpelah.—No. 1. is from the ancient Cædman at Oxford *; 6 and 8 from a MS. of Aurelius Prudæntius in the Cotton Library †; and all the reſt from another MS. alſo in the Cotton Library ‡.

XVI. No. 1. A jewel formerly belonging to king Ælfred; the writing round it is AELFRED MEC. HEIHT GEVVYRCAN. *Ælfred ordered me to be made.* 2. a penknife; 3. a pen §; 4. the letter T; 5. the letter H, as ſpecimens of ornaments from a book ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut ‖; 6. a ſpecimen of writing from the ſame book. The writing is, Uuerthe then uuilleo othar thesa uuerold alla ſo ſamo an erthu ſo thar uppe, &c. *Work thine will over this world the ſame on earth ſo as there up*, &c. No. 7. A ſpecimen of the writing in the St. Cuthbert's Goſpels, written at the latter end of the eighth century ¶. Et reſpondens Chriſtus dixit iterum in parabolis eis dicens. The Saxon is, and ge thonwonde the hælend cueth eftſonu in biſpellum him cueth. *And Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid to them in parables*, &c. 8. a ſpecimen of an ancient MS. of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory **, the beginning of the fifth book. Succeſſit autem viro Domini Cuthberchto in exercenda vita ſolitaria, quam, &c. *And after ſucceeded Cuthbert, a man of the Lord, who had led a ſolitary life, when*, &c. 9. A ſpecimen from another Anglo-Saxon MS. of part of the Bible ††. Lædde Joſep hys fœder into tha cynninge and ſette hine beforan. *Joſeph led his father to the king, and ſet him before him.* 10. A ſpecimen from the Cædman at Oxford. Welig. wide ſtodan. No. 11. Is a bracelet for the arm.

XVII. No. 1. Two figures, one playing on the violin; the other throwing up knives and balls into the air, and catching them dexterouſly as they fall; 2. a man dancing to the muſic of the harp; 3. another kind of violin; 4. an organ; 5. a harp; 6. a lyre; 7. an ancient ſpur, found in a water meadow belonging to Sir William Jones at Ramſbury, who was ſo kind as to permit me to engrave it from the original, which is of iron, and has been plated over with ſilver; 8. a

* Junius xi. in Bib. Bodleni.
† Cleopatra, C. vi.
‡ Claudius, B. iv.
§ From the laſt quoted MS.
‖ Caligula, A. vii.
¶ In the Cotton Library often mentioned before, marked Nero D. iv. Vide plate XX. vol. I.
** This MS. is alſo in the Cotton Library, marked Tiberius C. 2.
†† This book is often quoted before Claudius, B. iv. in the Cotton Library.

vial; 9 and 12. two ſtandards; 10. is a lyre that is played upon by the handle; 11—13. is a war trumpet; 14. a battle-ax; 15. a hunting horn; 16 and 17. two trumpets. No. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. and 14. are from a MS. in the Harleian Library *; all the reſt, except No. 7. from MSS. in the Cotton Library quoted before.

XVIII. Carriages for travelling to and from the buildings, in the back ground, are taken from ancient MSS. though diſpoſed according to the fancy of the deſigner. The carriage, with the woman in it, is from a MS. in the Cotton Library †. From the ſame book is taken the two buildings directly over it. The four-wheeled carriage, and the appearance of a diſtant town, is from another MS. in the ſame library ‡; and from another, is that with two wheels that ſtands in the front §.

XIX. A burial, the figures taken from a Cottonian MS ‖. The back ground is partly fancy, except the temple ſeen behind. The trees are taken from another Cottonian MS ¶.

XX. A map of the Saxon Heptarchy.

Some of the author's friends having ſignified to him, that it would be better if the *Legends* upon the coins on plate XVII. Vol. I. were to be explained, he has thought it his duty to comply with their requeſt.

No. I. On the reverſe ETHILBERHT : RE : for REX. *Ethilberht, king.* 2. On the reverſe, EADBALD . R . CA. for Rex Cantiæ, *Eadbald, king of Kent.* 3. ECGBERHT. on the reverſe, EOTBBREHT. the name perhaps of the Moneyer. 4. ETHILBERHT ÷ CANT. on the reverſe REX. 5. CVTHRED REX CANT : on the reverſe SIGERERHT : MONETA, or Monetarius, *Moneyer.* 6. BELDRED : REX. C. on the reverſe DIORMOD : MONE. 7. ETHELVIERED. on the reverſe MANNA. MONETA. 8. CVTHRED. REX. on the reverſe EABA. 9. SYGFRONI. 11. on the reverſe EVVRAM. MO. 10. OFFA : REX. on the reverſe LULLA, the name of the Moneyer. 11. AVDVLFIUS. PRISIN. on the reverſe VICTVRIA. ADVLFO. 12. OFFA : REX. on the reverſe OCHMVND. 13. E : ORA. on the reverſe CYNETHRITH : REGINA, *Cynethrith queen.* 14. COELVVF REX. M. *for* Coelwulf Rex Merciæ. *Coelwulf, King of Mercia.* 15. BEORNVLF. RE. on the reverſe EYCSA : MONETA. 16.

* No. 603.
† Cleopatra, C. VI.
‡ Claudius, B. IV.
§ Tiberius, B. V.
‖ Claudius, B. IV.
¶ Cleopatra, C. VI.

LUDICA. REX. ME for Merciæ, on the reverſe VERGALD: MONE.——A gentleman, thoroughly converſant with the Saxon coins, has informed me that No. 9. of this plate is not a coin of of Sighere as Speed conceived; nor is it at all certain by whom it was coined. No. 10. is a coin of Offa the great, king of Mercia, and not of Offa, king of the Eaſt Angles, as Speed declares; and No. 11. though it has been univerſally received as a coin of Adulf, king of the Eaſt Angles, is nevertheleſs not a coin ſtruck by that prince, but a foreign coin, and unknown.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM